DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 266 063 SO 016 910

TITLE	Five Studies on the Situation of Women in Latin America. Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL. Second Edition.
INSTITUTION	Economic Commission for Latin America (UN), Santiago (Chile).
PUB DATE	Aug 84
NOTE	196p.; Several tables contain small print that may not reproduce clearly.
AVAILABLE FROM	United Nations Publications, Sales Section, DC-2-866, New York, NY 10017 (Sales No.E.82.II.G.10).
PUB TYPE	Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Developing Nations; Employed Women; *Females; Foreign Countries; *Latin American Culture; Poverty; Public Policy; Quality of Life; Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Socioeconomic Status; Womens Education; *Womens Studies
IDENTIFIERS	Caribbean; *Latin America; United Nations; *Women in Development

ABSTRACT

Five studies on the situation of women in Latin America focus on (1) the integration of women in development, (2) the family as the immediate social framework of children and women, (3) some types of poor women in Latin America, (4) the educational situation of women, and (5) women in development and housework. An introductory section outlining difficulties stemming from planning, difficulties arising out of the manner in which the situation of women is depicted as a problem, and general guidelines for public policy is followed by a section focusing on specific family characteristics in Latin America and the Caribbean. Topics in this section include the family as a unit producing goods and services; the family as the object of policies, family trends and economic and social change; size, type, and composition of households; and specific situations dealing with the families of small agricultural producers, seasonal laborers, office workers, and those families in the Andean altiplano, "informal" metropolitan sector, and the Caribbeans. The section on poor women examines the education, occupation, and income status of women in Latin America. A look at the educational situation of women focuses on the economic situation between 1960 and 1970, the situation since 1975, principal problems, and suggestions for public policy. The final section examines characteristics of the employment situation between 1960 and 1970, recent developments, principal problems, and recommendations for action. For each study, guidelines are presented for establishing priorities, strategies, and policy measures that might help improve the situation of women in Latin America. (LH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

Five Studies On The Situation Of Women In Latin America

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Marta Gomez de Boeninger

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

ESTUDIOS e INFORMES de la CEPAL

Five Studies On The Situation Of Women In Latin America

UNITED NATIONS

SANTIAGO, CHILE, 1983

E/CEPAL/G.1217
E/CEPAL/CRM.2/L.3/Rev. 1
June 1983

UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATION

Sales Nº E.82.II.G.10

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
I. THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT	5
A. DIFFICULTIES OF A GENERAL NATURE STEMMING FROM PLANNING	7
B. DIFFICULTIES ARISING OUT OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IS DEPICTED AS A PROBLEM	9
1. The diagnostic formulae	9
2. Three general approaches	10
(a) The approach to women and development in Central Asia and the Pacific	10
(b) An approach of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)	15
(c) A United Nations Development Programme approach	17
3. Essential aspects of the diagnosis formulae	20
(a) What kind of social entity are women?	20
(b) Social structure, domestic activity and the situation of women	23
(c) Sexual stereotypes and cultural patterns	28
C. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC POLICIES	32
1. General considerations	32
2. How to specify the reicpient group or the groups to which policies are directed	33
3. Specific issues	36
4. Alternative strategies	37
II. THE FAMILY AS THE IMMEDIATE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF CHILDREN AND WOMEN	39
A. INTRODUCTION	39
1. The family as a unit which produces goods and services and reproduces social agents	40
2. The family as the object of policies	41
(a) Differences between policies aimed at the family unit and policies aimed at some of its members (children,women)	41
(b) The family as a target group and as a strategic group for policies	42

Page

(c) Importance of locating family units in their social situation..... 44
B. THE FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN..... 45
1. Family trends and economic and social change 45
2. Size, type and composition of households.. 47
(a) Average size of households..... 47
(b) Type of household..... 48
(c) Composition of households..... 48
(d) Other aspects..... 51
3. Some particular situations..... 52
(a) The family of the small agricultural producer..... 52
(b) The family of the seasonal labourer in the plantation sector..... 57
(c) The family of the Andean altiplano.... 60
(d) The family of the "informal" metropolitan sector..... 64
(e) The family unit of office workers..... 67
(f) The situation of the family in the Caribbean..... 69
C. POLICY GUIDELINES..... 72
1. Differences in priorities according to family situations..... 72
2. Basic information for policies..... 73
3. Some considerations on policies aimed at lower strata families or their members (children, women)..... 73
(a) Raising the age of unions..... 74
(b) Formalization of unions..... 75
(c) Stability of unions..... 75
(d) Reduction of illegitimacy rates..... 76
(e) The situation of women..... 76
(f) The situation of children..... 76
(g) Husband-wife relations..... 77
(h) Connexions with the global society.... 77
4. A minimum core of measures..... 78
5. How to secure the participation of the groups at which the policies are aimed.... 79
BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE FAMILY AND WOMEN..... 81
III. SOME TYPES OF POOR WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA..... 87
INTRODUCTION..... 87
A. THE EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME SITUATION OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA..... 87
B. A TYPOLOGY OF POOR WOMEN..... 98
1. The rural housewife..... 99
2. The female agricultural worker..... 101
3. The urban housewife..... 102

	Page
4. The female manual worker	105
5. Housemaids	106
6. Native street vendors	108
Conclusion	109
IV. EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF WOMEN	111
INTRODUCTION	111
A. FEATURES OF THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF WOMEN, 1960-1970	114
1. Literacy	115
2. Educational attainment	119
(a) Primary level	121
(b) Secondary level	126
(c) Higher level	126
3. Co-education	130
4. Content of education	130
B. THE SITUATION SINCE 1975	132
C. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS	133
D. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION	136
V. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSEWORK	147
A. INTRODUCTION	147
1. The Employment of women in relation to the objectives laid down by the Regional Plan of Action	147
2. Conceptual clarification and problems of definition	149
(a) Levels at which women participate in work	149
(b) Organization of the structure of production and participation of women in work	152
(c) Organization of the family and participation of women in work	157
B. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF WOMEN , 1960-1970	159
1. The participation of women in work	159
(a) Level of participation in economic and household activity	159
(b) Factors affecting participation in work	162
2. Structure of women's employment	166
(a) Employment of women by branch of activity	167
(b) Female employment by occupational stratum	172
(c) Use of, requirements for and remuneration for female employment	177
(d) Attitudes towards working women	180
C. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS	182
D. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS	183
E. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION	185

INTRODUCTION

The Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL) has been carrying out activities pertaining to the situation of Latin American women for nearly 10 years. Its work in this area began in compliance with CEPAL resolution 321 (XV), adopted at the fifteenth session of the Commission (Quito, March 1973), in which the member governments recommended that the CEPAL Secretariat should prepare a study on participation of women in the development of the region and the measures to be taken to eliminate discrimination and the lack of educational, employment and economic opportunities for women.

Since then, seminars, technical meetings and workshops regarding the situation of women in respect of different areas in the development of Latin American societies have been conducted with increasing regularity. CEPAL has also participated in regional and world conferences and has carried out studies aimed at expanding knowledge on the question, systematizing the various sources of information and studying more thoroughly certain conceptual aspects which have not been adequately dealt with.

An important area of its work has consisted of the projects, carried out first at the national level and subsequently at the subregional and regional levels, to achieve concrete and specific improvements in the living conditions of the women of the region. In this effort, the CEPAL Secretariat, through its Unit for the Integration of Women into Development, has taken on new responsibilities with regard to the formulation, implementation and evaluation of the various projects.

This publication provides a sample of the efforts that have been made. Produced by several Secretariat officials and consultants, it was prepared in fulfilment of the mandates of the governments expressed in the recommendations of the Regional Plan of Action for the Integration of Women into Latin American Economic and Social Development. It was originally written as a position paper for the Second Conference on the Integration

of Women into Latin American Economic and Social Development 1/ (Macuto, Venezuela, November 1979). At that time the document provided an essential contribution to the periodic evaluation of the situation of women in the region, but its scope goes beyond the particular circumstances of the Conference. Because of the extent of the information it presents, the analyses and the range of subjects it covers and the theoretical formulations it contains, it is worth taking into account in further studies on the issue. In addition to being useful for researchers and students of the status of Latin American women, this text may also be of value to planners in drawing up social policies in their countries. It is hoped, therefore, that it will contribute towards improving the situation of women, particularly as regards the improvement of training of women and their involvement in tasks that are important to the development of their societies.

The internal unity of each study contained in this publication is maintaned. The publication begins with a conceptual study of the more general social relations and structures which affect the situation of women. It continues with a presentation of specific types of women and families in the development processes of the region. Special attention is then given to aspects concerning the family, education and employment, which have been given priority in the various mandates of the General Assembly and which are major fields for the social action of women. Finally, some guidelines are presented for establishing priorities, strategies and policy measures that might help improve the situation of women.

This publication represents a continuation of the practice initiated by the Secretariat with the publication in 1975, of a set of studies prepared in pursuance of the Quito resolution by various Secretariat professionals and consultants, in their personal capacity. 2/

1/ The First Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into Latin American Economic and Social Development was held in Havana, Cuba, in June 1977. The Regional Plan of Action was adopted at that Conference.

2/ ECLA, Mujeres en América Latina. Aportes para una discusión, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975.

As was the case with that publication, the purpose of this one is to enhance the discussion of the question in order to facilitate the formulation of working hypotheses, frame the analysis in the broader context of development and, ultimately, provide tools for effectively improving the living conditions of Latin American women and their families, particularly those of the lower income groups.

I. THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN INTO DEVELOPMENT

Conceptual framework and policy guidelines

In recent years, the "question" of women has become a matter for public debate. This has produced a notable increase in a process of discussion which goes back a very long way. The constants and variables of this process have still to be investigated: where was it started; by whom; where is it headed; to whom is it directed; with what subjects is it concerned; what motives are behind it; what is the context of the discussion.

This document deals with the integration of women into development and is produced in an institution one of whose main concerns is the formulation of proposals for strategies and public policy guidelines.

Its aim is also to analyse the significance of many of the terms contained in the above sentence. To begin with, it does not simply accept that there exists something as general as "women" or the"situation"of women, but attempts to give these expressions a more precise meaning. It also considers that it is not a question of passing from a lack of participation or integration to a state of participation or integration. It rather starts off from the fact that women do take part and are integrated into development in some form, but whatever this form may be, it is unsatisfactory for some groups of women, for all women or for some social agents. In any case, to establish what are the unsatisfactory effects of the forms of their participation or integration and why these effects are produced is totally different from holding that there is a lack of participation or integration. Lastly, "development" is considered to be the evolution of society, i.e., an integral historical fact, not exclusively reduced to economic growth, which moves towards the social and human objectives proposed and elaborated in important resolutions emanating from the United Nations General Assembly, particularly those referring to the International Development Strategy. Under such circumstances, the spontaneous evolution of situations should not be

expected, nor should the results of specific activities which the individuals taking part may undertake be depended upon; instead, a conscious and deliberate attempt is made to intervene in situations through planning and by means of public policies, i.e. general and mass actions of an integral type promoted and implemented by State bodies, social and economic agents, political parties, churches, etc. It still has not been possible to overcome satisfactorily the difficulties which prevent activities aimed at improving the situation of women from being inserted in a valid form into the global, national or regional development programmes and strategies. Until this is achieved, and while the situation of women continues to be considered in isolation, the action proposals and activities carried out will continue to be of an erratic nature and have a secondary place in the plans and planning systems, and their consideration will be seen as desirable or recommendable but not necessary in international and national forums concerned with development. This document is mainly concerned with examining these difficulties.

Among the numerous existing difficulties, attention is centred on how the situation of women, consistency among conceptual frameworks the objectives proposed and policy guidelines become a planning problem.

As regards planning, some general characteristics are considered, and particularly those arising out of the theoretical and methodological hypotheses used.

The question how to express the situation of women as a series of problems will be considered in two stages. In the first stage, three approaches of a general nature will be analysed, with a description of their content (what are the causes detected, what is the situation, what therefore are the strategies proposed), and comments on the proposed solutions.

In a second stage, based on the results of the analysis of the above approaches and experience in the matter, it is proposed that the central points to be settled are those referring to the determination of what type of sociological entity women are, their role in domestic activity in the social structure, cultural patterns and sexual stereotypes.

The discussion of the subjects described leads to a series of conclusions on the basis of which reflections are formulated on general guidelines for public policies, attempting to maintain their consistency with the conceptual framework formulated.

A. DIFFICULTIES OF A GENERAL NATURE STEMMING FROM PLANNING

Some of the difficulties mentioned are of a general nature and are common to the situation of women and any other group which might be constituted on similar bases (men, children, young people, etc.). Those residing in the nature of the preparation and implementation of the global development programmes and strategies should be mentioned; they include the real weight of planning in societies structured according to the rules of the market, the administrative structure and insertion of the agencies for planning and policy formulation, the political scenarios formed when dissimilar interests come together, the pressures from different sectors of society, the perception of their urgency, the scarcity of financial and human resources, etc.

Another source of difficulties of a general nature, to which not much attention is normally given, is to be found in the theoretical and methodological factors determining the approach used by planning in preparing social development strategies and programmes. The theoretical and methodological nature of these difficulties means that there is a tendency to underestimate their real importance, since it is frequently forgotten that in fact they are perceived and expressed as problems according to conceptual frameworks which to a greater or lesser degree are structured, implicit or explicit. Although the existence of this source of difficulties is no novelty, no systematic efforts have been made to obviate them although they were detected a long time ago.

In view of its own characteristics, planning proceeds on the basis of hypotheses such as the following:

(a) The analytic separation of the economic, political and social spheres, as corresponding to a separation of these spheres in actual fact. The consequence of this hypotheses is usually that the social repercussions of any policy, even those apparently most divorced from the daily life of the population, are not considered or are only considered very superficially. The population itself is relegated to a secondary plane and at best any adverse effects are considered as "costs" or "payments" which must be made by the different social strata to achieve the objectives and targets envisaged. For example, in order for agricultural production to achieve a certain percentage of participation in exports, activities are carried out to orient credit, choose the type of product, study the markets, etc., with a fairly immediate effect on the development of farms of different

types. These results have different repercussions on the different social strata, and on the families and the individuals which belong to them: in the country, some enterprises or entrepreneurial strata will have access to credit or will be incorporated into international circuits of favourable prices; the small and middle farmers will have difficulty in modifying their production and incorporating themselves into these circuits; effects will be produced on employment; etc. In the city, the prices of agricultural products will vary, and this will particularly affect nutrition among the lowest income strata, etc.

(b) The figures of the indicators used to express different dimensions of reality are produced by homogeneous forms of behaviour of society. The consequence of this hypothesis is that the social relations which produce this result, the power relations between different social strata and the real inequalities between these strata are bypassed. For example, the fact that two societies have similar literacy rates gives no information as to the means by which this has been achieved or the real social relations which have produced them, nor as to their consequences.

(c) Average values are obtained for individuals belonging to nominal categories of the population according to sex, age and area of residence, because these are units of analysis that are relevant to the analysis of the society and the subsequent execution of programmes affecting it. The consequence of this hypothesis is that it is impossible to establish the necessary structural relationships between groups of individuals and the major processes of society. For example, the schooling averages of young rural women reveal very little about the functioning of the educational system in rural areas and the differential access of women according to the socio-economic stratum to which the family of origin belongs.

A frame of reference having these characteristics offers few possibilities of achieving a valid insertion of programmes aimed at social development in the global development strategies, whether they are directed at improving the quality of living, attacking critical poverty, meeting basic needs or attending to the situation of children or women. The most which can be aspired to with this frame of reference is to establish compatibility between population and budget figures and carry out computerized simulations on the basis of models which assume that the variables included come from the same social relations in any time and place. It is thus not surprising that the programmes and strategies

deriving from it are part of a technocratic rationality of a manipulating type which from the moment it takes the form of specific activities tends to produce two types of results on the one hand the impossibility of defining accurately who are to be the recipients and consequently of gaining access to them and identifying their real and pressing needs, and on the other hand, the lack of connexion of the specific actions with any global programme and strategy. These results are not mutually exclusive and tend to reinforce each other in practice.

It should be borne in mind that the difficulties mentioned are inherent in the frame of reference used by existing planning agencies and therefore affect the programmes and strategies prepared by public bodies and by private organizations (for example, enterprises, trade unions, political parties).

B. DIFFICULTIES ARISING OUT OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IS DEPICTED AS A PROBLEM

1. The diagnostic formulae

Another source of difficulty lies in the manner in which the situation of women is depicted as a problem.

Whenever a situation is characterized, described or explained or action is proposed to influence it, some diagnostic formula is applied, either explicitly or implicitly. Whatever diagnostic formula is used, it always starts from the basic assumption that there is complete correspondence between the concepts and relationships it contains and the objects and relationships of reality. This correspondence between a diagnostic formula and reality is the basis of the efficiency expected from any action undertaken. Therefore there is no such thing as a spontaneous action defined as action which is not based on a diagnostic formula. Rather, an apparently spontaneous action would be one with regard to which diagnostic formulae have not been explained or detected.

The concern for diagnostic formulae to characterize, describe and explain the situation of women and consequently propose action is not new to the CEPAL milieu. On many occasions the difficulties of conceptualizing the topic have been mentioned, as well as the need for an appropriate conceptualization on which to base policy guidelines, programming proposals and specific activities. 1/

1/ CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina. Aportes para una discusión, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975 See particularly the chapters by Marshall Wolfe and Jorge Graciarena, pages 9 to 45.

2. Three general approaches

It is advisable to look beyond what has been produced within CEPAL. Three approaches will be described and commented on below, the common characteristics of which are the following: (a) they have been formulated to serve as a basis for programmes of activities; (b) their orientation is of a general nature, i.e., they endeavour to cover the situation of women in a continent (Africa), in a region (Asia and the Pacific), in several regions the sphere of action of the United Nations Development Programme; (c) they have been formulated by experts connected with some agency of the United Nations system or convened by them; (d) their orientation tends to be global, in the sense that they cover the situation of women as a whole and do not concentrate on any sector in particular (education, health, employment, etc.).

(a) The approach to women and development in Central Asia and the Pacific

This approach, which starts off from basic needs, only includes the material needs of women, and does not provide an adequate framework for a feminist action plan. Emphasis should therefore be placed on the identification and satisfaction not only of their material needs but also of their "critical needs", which do indeed consist of the provision of basic goods and services but which also include consciousness-raising as regards their social situation, a change of attitudes, organization and mobilization for social and political participation, structural change and institutional and legal changes.

Although a detailed analysis may give rise to variations, these critical needs also apply to all socially and economically dispossessed groups. The largest of these groups is women. However, the poor and the dispossessed and, to a far greater extent, women constitute a highly differentiated and stratified population. In reviewing the basic needs of communities, the household or the family cannot be used as the only basic unit of analysis, since there are also desequilibria in the distribution of goods and services within it. Therefore, the basic needs of individuals should also be identified; many of the individuals who have extremely urgent and pressing needs are women.

Various strategies have been suggested for integrating women into development. There is a consensus however, that the approach to the problems of women should not be oriented towards well-being but towards development, based on increasing the participation of women in economic activity, increasing their productivity and raising their incomes, and recognizing the female members of society as agents and beneficiaries of change.

In order to determine what activities can lead to these changes, the following criteria should be applied:

(i) Activities which materially improve the life of women;

(ii) Activities which increase the self-respect, self-confidence and strength of women and contribute to increasing their social awareness and capacity for action;

(iii) Activities which support the collective strengthening of women and facilitate their mobilization;

(iv) Activities which help to produce the structural changes required. 2/

The critical needs identified coincide with the criteria used to determine possible activities in a programme for the integration of women, and can therefore be commented on as a group.

It should first be mentioned that the criteria and critical needs include some which are specific to women (consciousness-raising with regard to problems of women, organization and mobilization of women so as to deal with them) and others which are not specific to women (structural changes, supply of basic goods and services, change in attitudes).

In the case of non-specific criteria and needs, it is necessary to proceed to specify them, and this in turn brings up new difficulties. In effect, the provision of basic goods and services does not constitute a need only for women and its inclusion in a women's programme (it is only appropriate if it is shown that there exist conducts, patterns or values in respect of the distribution of certain goods and basic services which have adverse repercussions on women in relation to other social groups such as children, men and the elderly). The choice between supporting policies even if they do not specially benefit women or supporting them only if they do benefit them seems superfluous. The consideration of structural changes leads to a similar choice. The specification of criteria and general needs therefore leads on the one hand to the determination of whether there are different patterns of distribution between the

---

2/ Report: Part I: The critical needs of women (APCWDA: 9/Report), a document presented at the Meeting of the Group of Experts on the identification of the basic needs of women in Asia and the Pacific and the formulation of a work programme (Teheran, Iran, 4-10 December 1977).

sexes and what are the corresponding conducts and attitudes and on the other hand to a recommmendation to those taking part in the preparation and implementation of policies to take into account to what extent they may benefit or be adverse to women. In this case it may be asked why this would not apply to other social categories as well (children, young people, old people, etc.).

The specific criteria and needs mentioned in this approach (the organization and mobilization of women whose consciousness has been raised), would seem to arise as if for the women's organizations and forms of mobilization there were none of the possibilities and restrictions existing in the case of other social organizations, according to their sectoral and global objectives, form of recruitment, method of action and geographical coverage. All organizations or forms of social mobilization affect the social distribution of power in some way and women's organizations are not exempt from the general rules of the political game in force in the society concerned. This leads to the following choice: either a politically innocuous organization and mobilization of women is proposed, in which case it should be asked what its point is; or a politically meaningful mobilization and organization of women is proposed which would then cease to be specifically women-oriented and would be governed by the general rules of the game and the possibilities offered by the political system.

Consequently, if women are to be considered as a group benefiting from certain policies, it will be necessary to: (a) identify their needs; (b) specify those needs as they apply to women; (c) establish criteria for policies; (d) insert these policies into the global development strategies.

Secondly, the problem arises of what are the pertinent classifications of the population. According to the document under discussion, it is a matter of satisfying the critical needs of the oppressed groups, these being defined as the socially and economically dispossessed. The population is thus divided into two major groups. On the one hand are the oppressed and the dispossessed; on the other, the oppressors and expropriators. It is then added that the larger of the oppressed groups is comprised of women, which means that the population is divided into four major groups: oppressed-dispossessed, men and women; oppressors-expropriators, men and women. The female oppressors would in turn be subject to the male oppressors. It is clear that the basic terms of classification (oppression, expropriation) have totally different meanings depending on whether they concern social status or sex.

This ambiguity in the approach increases when it is recognized that the oppressed are not a socially homogeneous group (since they have internal conflicts of interests) and that the situations in which women are to be found are even more heterogeneous. A new source of ambiguity is added when it is recalled that there is also disequilibrium within the household and families in the distribution of goods and services and that consequently the identification of critical needs should be made by individuals, since many of those with the most urgent needs are women.

If the problem centres on the socially oppressed groups of the population the dilemma of the lack of specificity again arises, since both men and women are included. If the problem centres on women (subject to very heterogeneous forms of oppression), either general programmes are proposed for them ignoring what elements determine the oppression to which the groups to which they belong are socially submitted, or it is necessary to specify the needs of women from the different oppressed groups.

Thirdly, in order to overcome the problems of women, the adoption of a development-oriented strategy is proposed. This is defined by greater participation of women in economic activity, higher productivity and increased incomes, the recognition of women in the roles of agents and beneficiaries of change. The importance of this strategic proposal lies in the fact that it is frequently repeated and is widely accepted. It is clear that when one speaks of economic activity reference is being made to activity which enables money income to be obtained, since owing to a mistaken idea the activities carried out by women in their household chores and by rural women in their different agricultural tasks are not reported as economic. When the census statistics register women of an economically active age, who report themselves as employed in household activities (between 70% and 80% of women of those ages), as economically inactive, they recognize, on the one hand, the enormous contingent of persons required to carry out household activities devoted to the reproduction of the population in the generational and daily cycles,3/ and on the other

3/Generational reproduction is understood to be the group of processes (birth, socialization, education, etc.)by which all societies replace their population from one generation to another. Daily reproduction is taken to be the group of processes(food, health, rest, leisure,etc) by which all individuals daily renew their existence and working capacity.

hand that this contingent responds to a deep-seated need of the social structure which it would be difficult to modify without major structural changes. The proposal of an economic activity which allows women to obtain money income thus is highly relevant to the problems of *the social and sexual division* of labour and the creation of jobs.

The division of labour by sex is only a specification according to sex of the social division of labour and the division of social labour. 4/ According to this, either as housewives or wage-earners women have been primarily assigned tasks involving household activity and the daily and generational reproduction of the population and this allocation of tasks is neither circumstantial nor voluntary. The "liberation" of the female labour force from domestic tasks would produce a genuine social revolution, because it would be necessary to organize the forms of meeting the needs which are today met by domestic activity, while it would also be necessary to locate the labour force thus liberated in jobs, thus entering the sphere of the generation of employment.

If the women employed in household activities are added to the figures for open unemployment, unemployment and underemployment, it may be concluded that the in incorporation of women in remunerated economic activities would imply almost doubling the posts currently available, which would appear to be a more than utopian objective for any economy.

In short, the document discussed considers aspects of the formulation of a programme for the integration of women into development, which should not be omitted, i.e. (a) the need for specification according to sex; (b) determination of the type of social entity constituted by women so as to allow them to be linked up with the different social processes; (c) the preparation of action strategies in keeping with the above aspects.

4/ "Social division of labour" will be taken to mean the distribution of the agents of production in terms of the relations of production. "Division of social labour" will be taken to mean the distribution of the agents of production according to the different sub-processes and sectors of activity of the social process of production. See Ipola, Emilio and Torrado, Susana, Teoría y método para el estudio de la estructura de clases sociales (con un análisis concreto: Chile, 1970). Primera parte: "El campo teórico". Santiago, PROELCE, 1976, mimeographed version.

For the reasons of a theoretical and empirical nature already described, the solutions which this approach proposes for these aspects do not seem to be adequate.

(b) An approach of the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)

The situation of women cannot be conceived of outside a society in which men and women have the roles allocated to them by historical development. In the case of the Third World, the situation of women is linked to their necessary contribution to capital accumulation at the national and world levels.

Together with the economy of trade, colonial penetration introduced the payment of money taxes, obligatory crops for export, new forms of consumption, and the replacement of local handicrafts by manufactures which freed manpower, and caused a shift of the male population towards mining or plantation areas.

Agricultural modernization only covers the sector of export crops, dominated by men. The women continue to participate without pay in field work, using rudimentary means, thus lengthening their work day. The wage paid to women does not include the cost of maintaining and reproducing the labour force, assumed in its entirety by the family unit, whose existence is conserved. This cost is left to the domestic community, by the use of the productive and reproductive capacity and the maintenance of domestic production relations which if altered would reduce profits. This explains the absence of investment in subsistence agriculture and establishes organic relations between the capitalist economy and the domestic economy. The domestic community is maintained because it contributes to maintaining an available low-cost labour force which it reproduces and maintains in a non-capitalist mode of production. Exploitation is thus not restricted only to work but to the whole of the unit of production to which it belongs.

The recognition of the interaction existing between economic changes and changes in the status of women will enable planners to take account of the impact of development policies on the division of labour by sexes and the possibility of overloading the work of women and reinforcing their oppression.

The basic strategy proposed starts from the need: (a) to change the machinery by which women are integrated into the national economic system as a whole and, through it, into the international system; (b) to change their role in capital accumulation; and (c) to eliminate the causes of their oppression.

It should be asked whether in the present circumstances and with present development policies it is possible for any positive change to take place in the role and position of women, and whether the strategies based on basic needs can satisfy the material and psycho-cultural needs of women. If the above two roads do not lead to positive changes, what can be done?5/

(i) The situation of women, according to this approach, is inherent in the historical development of society in whose evolution different roles have been allotted to men and women. The centre of diagnosis is aligned on national society, its history and structure and the form in which it is linked to international society. This instrinsic link signifies immense progress in respect of approaches in which the situation of women would seem to be external to that of society.

(ii) Population groups are constituted according to the historical and structural characteristics of a national society. On the basis of these, the links of the domestic communities with the economic system in particular and national society in general are defined, in accordance with the nature of the processes by means of which the reproduction of the population is carried out, both in the daily and in the generational cycles. This working hypothesis merits a careful and specific use for different societal frameworks.

(iii) In the context of the international and national division of social labour, the specification of the division of labour according to sex is produced, and varies according to the different groups in the national society. In these, and in relation to this division, it is possible to define the problems and needs of women, and consequently to invent and implement measures aimed at promoting positive changes or at least avoiding the adverse effects of the development policies on women,

(iv) The basic strategy starts off from the need to modify the machinery by which women are integrated into the national economic system as a whole, since this machinery is what permits accumulation on a world scale. Within the general lines of this approach, knowledge of the specific situations is a crucial point. This is why no immediate guidelines for designing programmes or actions have been drawn up, except the recommendation to planners to take account of the impact of development policies in a division of labour by sexes and the possibility that they may overload the work of women and reinforce their oppression.

5/ UNRISD, L'impact des transformations socio-économiques sur le role et le status des femmes. (Conseil 1978/D.T.6.)

(v) This approach centres on the economic aspects of the situation of rural women in the Third World. However, it would be worthwhile to explore from the economic point of view whether it is possible to generalize in respect of the necessary connexion between the situation of women and capital accumulation by going beyond social class and nation; and whether on the other hand the variation of the role of women in capital accumulation by itself allows the elimination of the causes of their oppression, or whether other factors exist such as cultural patterns, the social division of labour, sexual stereotypes, etc., which weigh heavily on their generation and continuity.

(c) A United Nations Development Programme approach

The key factor in development is the productive and efficient use of human resources. Human beings thus constitute the most important resource in development. Half the available human resources are women who have, however,been excluded from development in the majority of the countries of the world. Although this exclusion may be explained, it is imperative to tackle the problem directly because there is no longer any justification for not applying corrective measures.

Traditional activities, in which women are mainly occupied, decrease in importance in the development process. The general effect of this consists in the loss of women's functions and social position. In rural areas, family production for subsistence, mainly the responsability of women, is replaced by commercial production of goods and services. In the urban areas, the replacement of workshops and small industries installed in family dwellings by enterprises located in special premises, makes it difficult to combine remunerated work with attending to the children and household activities.

To become integrated into the development process is to have the legal right and access to the means available to improve individually and develop society, i.e., opportunities for remunerated employment and for generating income through own-account employment or family work. As regards women, their total integration into development will become a fact only when the human resources they represent cease to be wasted, when wealth and other social services are applied to the question of integration and when the education, training and employment of women become reality.

Action proposals:

(i) Participation of women in all sectors and at all levels of employment;

(ii) Establishment of targets and policies for the employment of women in the public and private sectors;

(iii) Participation of women in the formulation and implementation of programmes and plans aimed at increasing their participation;
(iv) Extension of the function of women in all sectors of planning and adoption of the necessary measures so as to ensure their participation at all levels of administration (local, regional, national and international);
(v) Legislative and administrative measures for orienting and institutionalizing changes in attitudes relating to the functions of women;
(vi) Public information campaigns to ensure that women are fully aware of their legal and civil rights and so that they can obtain knowledge of the measures they can adopt to impose these rights;
(vii) Research, compilation and analysis of relevant data;
(viii) Specific programmes such as: small-scale businesses; vocational training; rural training programmes, programmes for improving productivity and motivation for men and women; tools and utensils for the home; provision of drinking water supply;
(ix) Communications and mass media;
(x) Ensuring that planners and executors make use of the potential contribution of women to the development processes.

Each country should seek a special strategy for achieving a better integration of women(into national development, at the same time relating to the stage of development achieved by this country and the special factors of a cultural, social and economic nature in force in the country concerned.)6/

At the time of its publication this UNDP document, which we have described briefly, was of great value because it explained the majority of questions and proposals then in discussion around the problem of women. Although many of its postulates have since been superseded, they have not failed to be present in dealing with the problem.

In this approach, development is equivalent to economic growth and this is a process through which all societies must necessarily pass, going through similar stages and covering all the different social groups, economic sectors and residential areas. These hypotheses of the necessity, lineality and homogeneity of development render the constitution of population groups useless.

6/ Boserup, Ester and Liljencrantz, Ch., Integración de la mujer en el desarrollo. Por qué. Cuándo. Cómo. New York, United Nations Development Programme, 1975.

In general terms, consequently, the diagnosis is carried out for nominal categories defined according to sex (men, women).

Since the key factor of development is the productive and effective use of human resources, which only takes place in the modernized or developed sector and production units of the economy where men are predominantly employed women are excluded from development and in addition their economic contribution to development is being wasted.

In this statement there is a basic contradiction. Appraisal of productivity and effectiveness in the use of human resources is made from the standpoint of the modern industrial sector of the economy and this is defined in terms of the technology and form of organization it uses and not of human resources. By the same token, human beings do not constitute the most important resource of development because, if this were the case the development strategy would be labour-and not capital-intensive.

Consequently, the appraisal of productivity and efficiency in the use of human resources cannot be made by disregarding the conditions in which the units of production produce and are reproduced. It is true that if the good produced remains constant, the so-called "traditional" agricultural sector has less productivity and efficiency than the so-called "modern" agricultural sector. But this does not mean that in the former human resources are unproductive, under-productive or inefficient, because this judgement does not depend on the human resource but on the conditions of production and reproduction in which it is applied. Thus although it is true that 50% of available human resources are constituted by women, it is not so true that the human resources which they represent have been wasted. The problem is how, in what and with what results has the female labour force been utilized.

According to this approach, the total integration of women into development will be a reality when:(a) the human resources which they represent are no longer being wasted;(b) wealth and other social services are applied to the question of integration;(c) the education,training and employment of women become reality.

The questions of employment and human resources have already been considered above. It may be doubted whether the application of wealth and other social services to the question of the integration of women can be proposed as a first-order priority for the problem of development in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. As regards access to education, time spent in the educational system, the development of non-formal methods, and subject matter referring to sexual

stereotypes, the consensus is unanimous. It has, however, been proved repeatedly that education is not a problem affecting all "women", but only those women belonging to certain social strata.

Given the conception of development on which this approach is based and the population groupings it constitutes (men, women), it cannot go beyond the indication that each country must find its own strategy and enumerate action proposals which, more than action proposals as such, consist of listing of the fields in which action should be taken (planning, legislation, communications and mass media, research, compilation and analysis of data, specific programmes). It does, however, make it quite clear that the proposals for programmes for the integration of women into development are based on a conception of development and its dynamics.

3. Essential aspects of the diagnosis formulae

The above review of some approaches suggests that the central topics for the constitution of a conceptual framework suited to the diagnosis of and action on the situation of women and their integration into development are: the precise definition of the type of social entity which women constitute; the establishment of a link between domestic units as a place in which women predominantly carry out their activities and the global socio-economic structure; sexual stereotypes and cultural patterns. Each of these topics has deep theoretical roots and far-reaching social, economic, political and ideological repercussions. In this document it is not possible to review them extensively, systematically and exhaustively, It is, however, necessary to present them even if only briefly, since policy guidelines must be based on them.

(a) What kind of social entity are women?

It is frequent to find in a single text or context references to women as if they constituted a caste, a stratum, a class, an estate or a group, without distinction. However, each of these terms refers to different realities, and consequently delimits different fields of knowledge to be resorted to when diagnoses are made or action proposed. Furthermore, depending on the social entity, the form of identifying the focal group and distinguishing it from other groups will be different.

In the first place, although women associate to form women's groups, it is not the case that all the women in a society form one group. They do not constitute a single group, because they lack a relatively exclusive interaction in a certain context, a collective perception of this interaction, the pursuit of interdependant ends and the appropiate norms for

regulating the functioning of the group.

Secondly, women do not constitute a caste, since these are closed groups which are defined by hereditary specialization, hierarchical organization and mutual repulsion, and exclude all relationships and marriage with external groups.

Thirdly, women do not constitue an estate, because within a country's society all women cannot homogeneously claim to be entitled to positive or negative privileges in social consideration, based on a common life style, a formal education, hereditary or professional prestige and all of this expressed in marriage between members of the same estate and in estate conventions.

Lastly, women do not constitute a social class because they cannot all homogeneously be considered to have a relationship based on the availability or unavailability of goods and services which, applied in an economic order, will give them typical probabilities as regards supply of goods, external position and personal future. The same impossibility of attributing homogeneity leads to the conclusion that women do not constitute a social stratum.

The different groupings into which the population of a society is stratified are grouping of the entire population (men and women), in terms of the cultural, historical and structural characteristics of its development. In Latin America and the Caribbean, most societies are stratified according to social classes; there are some remnants of stratification by estates.

Consequently, women (or men) are not a group, a caste, an estate, a class or a stratum, but belong to some grouping in the society in which they live. To use an analogy, it may be said that groupings based on social stratification cut across a society horizontally while groupings based on sex and age cut across a society vertically.

Does this mean that women constitute a nominal category? There are various ways to constitute nominal categories. According to one, a set of individuals is defined on the basis of one single characteristic, in this case, sex. This makes it possible to attribute to women certain values pertaining to a series of variables; educational level, level of income, marital status, occupational category, political or trade-union participation, death rate, morbidity migrations, etc. This done, it is possible to compare them with the values of another nominal category constructed in the same way (in this case, men) with the same variables, and to draw conclusions as regards discrimination in employment or educational opportunities, access to different goods and services, wage-levels, political or trade union.

participation, etc. The treatment of women as a nominal category of this type is based on the assumption that they are all in the same situation, when all the empirical information available confirms the fact that, to paraphrase Orwell, "some are more equal than others".

Nominal categories can also be constructed on the basis of several characteristics (sex, age, area of residence, type of dwelling, etc.). The nominal categories constructed in this way make it possible to perfect knowledge as to how sexual discrimination functions in relation to different factors.

When the nominal category is constituted in one of these two ways, the objective grouping thus defined presents two major limitations: (a) it is constrasted with the opposite sex and appears as the affirmation of the sex in question and in opposition to the other giving all the feminist positions something to stand on; (b) it is not necessarily defined in relation with the historical and structural characteristics of society, and consequently remains outside the groupings into which the population is stratified, giving rise to the conceptions of the average individual, which were analysed earlier.

The nominal categories can also be conceived as the result of the manipulations of statistical data, that tend to operationalize some population grouping that is significant within a general theory of social stratification. This leads one back to the previous discussion, where it was concluded that women do not constitute any such grouping although they necessarily belong to one of them.

It is a good idea to go back to the initial question as to what type of social entity are women. They are not an estate, a class or a stratum but their situation cannot be appreciated outside of these, since without them it is impossible to establish a connexion between the situation of women and the historical development of society. Although the role assigned to women is different, in different class situations there are certain elements in common. These common elements, constructed on the basis of the biological fact of sex, but transcending it, consist of the linking of women with real or potential motherhood and the biological and social reproduction of individuals.

Consequently, from the sociological viewpoint, women are groupings of individuals defined by the class to which they belong and the roles assigned to them in this class, based on the biological fact of sex.

It is possible to go further and consider how individuals are included in a class situation, taking into account the basic facts of the life cycle:

(i) Before the average age of incorporation into the labour force or before incorporation into remunerated activities in the labour market. All persons dependent on the head of the household are linked with the socio-economic system through this person's place in it, and consequently are included in the class situation of the head of the household.

(ii) After the average age of incorporation into the labour force or after incorporation into remunerated activities in the labour market and up to the first marital union. Two cases may be distinguished here. Those who do not work will continue to depend on the head of the household and will belong to his class situation. Those who are incorporated into remunerated economic activities of the labour market, will belong to the same class situation as the head of the household or to a different one, even though they may continue to share the same dwelling.

(iii) After the marital union. In this case account should be taken of the different ways of defining who is the head of the household according to the predominant family organization. If the woman is not incorporated into remunerated economic activities and depends economically on the head of the household, she will belong to the same class situation as he does, regardless to her class of origin.

(iv) After dissolution of the marital union, for any reason (separation, widowhood, etc.). In this case, the woman normally becomes the head of the household and her insertion in the socio-economic structure determines her class situation and that of her dependents.

Consequently, it may be said that, generally speaking, there is no such thing as the problem of "women" as it is usually postulated: the incorporation of women into development, the "image" of "women"; "women" in the labour market. What do exist are the problems of different groupings of women defined according to the double determination of the class situation to which they belong and the social roles assigned to them according to the class situation.

(b) Social structure, domestic activity and the situation of women

There is a consensus that in order to understand the situation of women it is necessary to take account of their situation in the social division of labour and particularly their relation with domestic activity for

the reproduction of individuals. 7/

Although lately most research starts off from this approach, this consensus has not led to an in-depth analysis of the relations between the global socioeconomic structure and the reproduction of the population in the daily and generational cycles. This makes it impossible to go beyond the description of some general ideas which require futher examination and systematization. But it is essential to bear these relationships in mind if one wishes to give the situation of women a valid place in global development programmes and strategies, since in the social and sexual division of labour which predominates in the region, reproductive domestic has been assigned to women and only those in the middle and upper strata who can afford to pay for the domestic work of other women from the lower rural and urban strata can be exempted from carrying it out.

All socio-economic systems produce goods and services and generate conditions for their own reproduction as a system. They also produce and reproduce their population in a daily and in a generational cycle. However, neither economics nor sociology has made any in-depth study of the processes by means of which this production and reproduction take place and their importance to the socio-economic structure as a whole.

Economic goods and services are produced by different types of units, which coexist in society: economic subsistence units, independent small producers, medium-sized and small enterprises, large-scale national and multinational enterprises, public enterprises. In part, the degree and style of the economic and social development of a society are defined by the quantity, quality and type of goods and services produced and by the rules which govern the distribution of these goods and services.

7/ Reproductive domestic activity is carried out in housing units for the maintenance of the members of the family or the family unit and is destined for inmediate consumption. Productive domestic activity is produced in family units and is intended for their own economic reproduction. Reproductive social work is carried out in family units or other economic units and produces goods or services to attend to immediate consumption through the market. Productive social work is carried out in family units or other economic units and is intended to serve as an input for the production of other goods.

As regards the reproduction of the population, in both the daily and the generational cycles, responsibility for it is socially attributed to the domestic communities or family units, regardless of how these units are organized and of the class situation to which they belong.8/

The rules of distribution in force in each society assign to the family unit, according to the different class situation, a certain amount of income (in money or kind). How it will go about solving the problem of fulfilling its reproductive responsibilities with this income is up to each unit. This social structure strategy for the reproduction of the population corresponds to the life strategies practised by the family units of the different class situations.

This general way of organizing the reproduction of the population has implications that point to different directions.

First of all, it should be mentioned that the inputs used by individual persons in the different stages of their life cycle (food, clothing, housing, education, recreation and leisure, health, transport, etc.). will vary in quantity and quality depending on the class situation to which the family unit of which they are members belongs, resulting in very considerable differences in the quality of life or the population.

Secondly, the different types of goods and services used by domestic units in their daily operation (food, fuel, etc.), over the long-term (construction, housing, furniture), for shorter periods (utensils, china) or in their infrastructure (water, sewerage), may be considered as investments which, if they materialize, will modify the conditions for the reproduction of the population and for carrying out reproductive domestic activity.

Thirdly, account should be taken of the relationship between the responsibility which each family unit assumes on its own for the reproduction of its members and the degree of need for one or several of them to take part in remunerated economic activities, which results in migrations, the early incorporation of children into paid work, the double burden of female work, etc.

8/ Despite their different connotations, the terms family unit and domestic unit will be used interchangeably.

Fourthly, it should be mentioned that, depending on the class situation, the domestic units obtain the goods and services they apply to the reproduction of their members through their own production, by purchasing them in the market or by other means (supply or gift from public or private agencies or other family units). The proportion of goods and services obtained from these different sources by the domestic units also varies historically and according to the degree of economic development of societies. Thus, it can be argued that the higher the level of economic development and the higher the socio-economic stratum to which a domestic unit belongs, the greater will be the proportion of goods and services it acquires on the market and the smaller the proportion it produces by means of reproductive domestic activity. It can be concluded from this that the aggregate demand of the family units in the higher socio-economic strata and their style of consumption have a very high specific weight in the orientation of the apparatus of production and hence in the feedback of the entire system. 9/

Fifthly, it should be mentioned that in some economic analyses the price of labour is determined in terms of marginal profits. This form of determining its price partly explains the difficulty of linking the socioeconomic structure with the labour force and the reproductive work which produces it. But even in nonmarginalist economic analyses there is a tendency to include in the price of labour only the value of the means of living that are purchased in the market, leaving out those that are produced by the family unit itself and the work required for their production. In such circumstances, reproductive domestic activity reduces the price of the wage and the cash expenditure of the family unit and increases the surplus produced by the economic system.

Going back to the propositon that the socioeconomic structure hands over to domestic units responsibility for the reproduction of the population in the daily and generational cycles, it is possible to take the analysis still further and indicate some features of domestic activity.

In the circumstances prevailing in the region, domestic activity is carried out according to the following general characteristics: it takes place in isolation; it is labour-intensive; it is predominantly

---

9/ Prebisch, Raúl, "A critique of peripheral capitalism", CEPAL Review, Santiago, CEPAL, first semester 1976, pp. 7-76, sales NºS.76.II.

manual; it requires the execution of very different activities, usually at low level of skill; it is predominantly gratis or poorly paid; it is entrusted to women who, in their great majority, carry it out themselves.

In any case, domestic activity (productive and reproductive), carried out in the family units and as an activity resulting in goods and services, is work from several standpoints. From the point of view of the family unit itself because it produces goods and services for the consumption of all the members and in some cases the production and economic reproduction of the family unit. From the social point of view, because day after day and generation after generation, it reproduces, wholly or partially, the individuals without whom the socio-economic system could not operate and because in many cases (own-account workers, small farmers) it produces goods for the market or carries out activities connected with the production of these goods. The fact that a great deal of domestic work results in the production of use value which, however, is not marketable, should not conceal the fact that this is useful and necessary work. The valuation of a good or service on the market is based on the fact that this good or service was previously a use value. The existence of goods and services which constitute use value and are not traded in the market should not lead to the conclusion that the activity producing them is not work because it has no established price.

Nobody would argue, for example, that the masters and teachers who work in the formal education system or who carry out informal education programmes, are engaging in work. However, not even women themselves consider as work the household activities in which they feed and look after their children and teach them language, useful knowledge, the practice of hygiene, norms, values and patterns of discipline which are no less educational than the instruction imparted at school. However, there are two aspects here which must not be confused. One is the lack of social recognition of the importance of reproductive domestic activity. Another is the fact that this work produces use value which is not given a market price. It is probable that the lack of recognition is based on the lack of monetary valuation. But there can be no doubt that valuation and recognition are two different things.

Leaving aside purely economic considerations and taking account of the aforementioned historical trend relating to the shift of the production of goods and services for the daily and generational reproduction of individuals from the domestic unit to private or public

units, some organizational and psychological implications may be considered.

From the organizational point of view, it should be asked what type of bodies will replace the family units in meeting their reponsability for the daily and generational reproduction of the population? (the community, the churches, the parties, private economic units in the market economies, public bodies); what will then happen to family organization? what would be the effect on women and on society as a whole?

From the psychosocial point of view, it can be pointed out that as the production of goods and services for the reproduction of individuals shifts from the family units to private or state units, the bases of family relations and family life change and the object of the identification will tend to shift and change the nature of the identification. Family solidarity is no longer based on present or deferred trade in goods and services, but on interpersonal communication. It may then be asked what will be the images of female and male? what will be the components of the image of women?

In the region, this tendency is slow and only affects some classes; the prevailing situation is one in which the reproduction of individuals in their daily and generational cycles, is dealt with by unpaid work which produces use value which is not valuated on the market and has no social recognition. The hypothesis that this situation is necessary to maintain the levels of economic surplus may be plausible, but leaves unexplained the reasons why women accept (and in many cases desire) the role allocated to them.

The explanation may perhaps be found in sexual stereotypes and the corresponding cultural patterns.

(c) sexual stereotypes and cultural patterns

In social psychology, stereotypes are conclusive fixed ideas associated with social categories (for e ample, women, men, Negroes, Jews, etc.) which are inmune to experience and are the result of the tendency to produce simplified ideas. Among their functions are those of justifying and rationalizing conduct towards the social category to which they are directed and acting as a selective filter which will ensure the maintenance of simplification.

It has been established that by the time a person is one year old, all the following distinctions have been formed: inside-outside; pleasure-pain; good-bad; me-not me; here-there; male-female. These basic distinctions are intermingled in the most varied combinations.

The sexual stereotypes which define female and male aspects are unconscious moulds, or elementary matrixes which are unconsciously transmitted, acquired

and applied and which shape in their image and likeness all experience subsequent to their implantation. On them are structured patterns, values, beliefs, images and symbols which underlie attitudes and behaviour on the basis of which activities considered suitable or appropriate for one sex or the other are assigned.

It has also been established that the social categories which are stereotyped, when treated in accordance with the stereotype end up by being induced, by the psychological machinery of projection and introjection, to act correspondingly.

In the last instance, the problem resides in how male and female are defined and not in the numerous reinforcements which this definition finds in tradition, culture, norms, publicity and the mass media. These mechanisms only maintain or aggravate a problem which is not inherent in them but which already exists and on which they are constructed.

In anthropology there is a basic consensus according to which the only biological determination of female and male roles consists in the fact that women become pregnant and that men make them so and that the attribution of activities to individuals, beyond the biological fact of sex (such that sex is relevant or irrelevant) will depend on certain historical conditions which must be established.

Thus, as long as the causes of a stereotype are not established, the only alternative is to act on the contents and consequences of its manifestations.

It would therefore be necessary to begin by asking what are the different activities carried out in a society; which of them are attributed to one sex or the other, and to which is sex irrelevant; why sex is irrelevant in some cases and significant in others; what are the bases and consequences of the attribution of activities. In brief: how and why are certain activities attributed to women, others to men, others to either of the two and yet others to both together, and what are the bases and consequences of this attribution.

Of course, the allocation of activities according to sex is not unknown to the different cultural complexes which have predominated in the region. In some areas, the Iberian culture was superimposed on strong pre-Colombian cultures. In other areas, indigenous cultures were of the collector type and had a very rudimentary development, such as in the River Plate. The Caribbean cultural complex, however, reveals the presence of traces of the Hispanic discoverers, of those from other European metropolises who arrived later, and of the African

cultures. These processes of cultural adaption have produced a cultural mosaic which has been inserted in a very complex manner with the social classes within the national societies. However, within each national society certain cultural traits are common to all social classes.

This is why, although in general terms it may be said that the world of economic production and reproduction, factories and social work, belongs to men, and the world of the production and reproduction of individuals, the household and isolated work belongs to women, the facts in no way support the thesis that there is bi-univocal correspondence between the two worlds and the two sexes. The relation between the cultural patterns which are developed on the basis of sexual stereotypes and the degree of economic development is not very clear either. Even the industrialized countries, where women have a higher rate of participation in remunerated economic activities, such participation still takes place in sectors considered to be typically "female", whether in capitalist or socialist countries.

The general features of feminity (women as affectionate, emotional, instinctive, weak, non-competitive, passive, altruistic, beautiful, disinterested, fertile, domestic beings), and the different forms of discrimination as regards educational and labour and in various other spheres are also specified according to the different social classes. But these general features and these forms of discrimination possess dynamic which is not unrelated to conjunctural situations. Under specific conditions its total or partial force would seem to be suspended (North American women during the Second World War, women joining national liberation armies., women who organize political activities and take part in mass street demonstrations) and is then resumed when the critical situation is considered to have been overcome.

It has been shown that women in different class situations do not perceive in the same way that there is something unsatisfactory in the way their roles are defined and what is unsatisfactory about it. Generally speaking, women from the higher social strata concentrate their perception and their action on a greater equality of opportunities for both sexes, while women from the lower social strata concentrate their perception and action on improving their living conditions. In fact, feminist movements have normally been led and made up of women belonging to the middle and upper strata, many of them professionals, and have not been popular among women from the lower strata.

Lastly, it should be borne in mind that female and

male roles are in a reciprocal relationship to and complement each other because if there is a problem in the way the role of one sex is defined there must be a problem in the way the other is defined and in the two definitions taken togoether.

Consequently, as has already been said, until the causes of the stereotypes are established, the only alternative is to act on their contents and consequences. This opens up a wide field for the development of action aimed at gaining awareness of the absence of a real basis for many of the normative components of female and male roles, and at eliminating the discriminations originating in those components. Some of them are linked to the ideology prevailing in the national society and cut across all social classes. All receive the specification of the role of women made by the social classes in accordance with their particular position in the social structure.

According to what has been said, the minumun conceptual framework for the formulation of diagnoses and the design of policies should take account of the fact that, according to the levels and styles of development of societies or their segments, there is a social division of labour (which includes a division of labour according to sex), on the basis of which different class situations are formed. Family units belonging to these groupings practise different life strategies, one of the main components of which is the organization of work aimed at reproducing their members in a daily and generational cycle. All these facts, backed up by the corresponding definitions of sexual roles, condition the situations in which women live.

Consequently, the situation of women leads to the following types of problems: (a) those common to all individuals (men and women) belonging to the same class situation: Housing, emplyment, education, health, income, etc.; (b) those specific to women, stemming from their social role in the class situation to which they belong, as a specificiation of the general cultural patterns.

This does not mean that the situation of women can only be improved if class situations are redefined. Indeed, in order to radically modify the development styles prevailing in the region a radical change would be required in the situation of women and this would imply a radical change in development styles.

Meanwhile, something may and must be done to improve the situation in which women live and the guidelines for public policies must be consistent with the conceptual framework on which they are based.

C. GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR PUBLIC POLICIES

The question now is to formulate some general guidelines for public policies which will be consistent with the conceptual framework developed. No concrete actions are proposed for intervening in specific cases since the diversity of situations and the capacity for devising solutions to deal with them would make any effort in this direction unproductive.

1. General considerations

It is an illusion to think that the policies and actions directed at women can be prepared and implemented without taking into account the characteristics and content of the development style selected and the global policies originating in it. The explicit or implicit answers to questions as regards what development, why, for whom and how to achieve it, colour all programmes, whatever the groups at which they are aimed and the sectors concerned.

In recent times, the hypothesis that development, when taken to mean economic growth, is in itself sufficient to improve the situation of the least favoured sectors has been set aside. Doubts have arisen as to whether it is a necessary condition, since certain available data show that national economic growth may occur with absolute or relative growth of the sectors which are in a situation of critical poverty.

It has therefore been concluded that in addition to economic growth, it is necessary to generate a political will firmly set on producing the necessary structural changes. The context of this political will frequently appears to be restricted to the government sectors where decisions are adopted and to other social forces which take part in or influence them, leaving out other social sectors whose participation is essential if an efficient political will is to be formed. This means going back to earlier proposals which in their time were described as assistentialist, paternalist, manipulatory, etc. Of course, a political style involving not only listening to the dispossessed and needy groups, but acting with, by and for them, would be rather out of line with the political styles that are prevalent in the region.

The discussion is not the only one in a series of old polemics which are being revived in connection with the situation of women, and questions as to what is development, what are the dynamic elements for obtaining it, what is the most favourable organizational framework of society, etc., frequently reappear. It is also common to find certain actions being proposed as if they had never been implemented before and as if no one

had any knowledge or experience regarding them.

As regards the problem of integration women's programmes into global development programmes and strategies, two types of attitude are commonly found.

According to one of these, the problem is an entirely new one and is viewed and experience is if it were new, without taking into account the knowledge and experience accumulated in the course of many years. Consequently, credit is given, acritically, to widely-practised approaches and actions, without any account being taken of the result of these experiences, as is the case, for example, with the programmes for community development, formation of co-operatives, generation of employment and income on the basis of very low-skilled activities, etc.

This attitude, which we could term "adamist", is contrasted with another which could be denominated "escapist", which although recognizing that the situation of women cannot be dissociated from national development, finds such difficulty in so doing that it treats it as if it were a marginal matter and advocates prompt localized actions, of very limited effect, aimed at reaching a very small number of women and with extremely low probabilities of continuing.

Perhaps the most productive way of avoiding both extremes is to consider the problem of the situation of women as a specific aspect of the issue of social development, taking advantage of all the knowledge and experience obtained in this area and also recognizing present difficulties and limitations.

2. How to specify the recipient group or the groups to which policies are directed

The recommendation to consider the situation in which women live as a specific aspect of social development leaves pending the problem of how to proceed to describe it.

It would seem recommendable to begin by replacing the expressions which refer to women as participants in or beneficiaries of development by the classic splitting of individuals into consumers and producers, taking great care to remember that this is not only a matter of the consumption and production of material economic goods but of all types of goods, services and social activities.

Two main lines are thus developed with reference to women:

(a) As consumers, i.e., from the point of view of inputs for their development as individuals. The quantity and quality of the inputs are basically determined by the class situation of the family units to

which the women belong. However, the data available call attention to the fact that in the middle and upper strata, the distribution of these inputs within the strata and their families tends to be more evenly divided between the two sexes than in the lower strata.

(b) As producers, i.e., from the standpoint of their involvement in remunerated economic activities their reproductive domestic activity or both activities at once. The incorporation of women into one or both of these spheres of activity is also conditioned by the class situation of the family unit to which the women belong. As regards incorporation into remunerated economic activities, the situation of women is also conditioned by the possiblity of their freeing themselves from responsibility for domestic activity, whether or not they are heads of household, and regardless of their marital status, the number of children they have, the stage of the life cycle in which their family is, etc. As regards activities in the context of domestic work, the means and resources for carrying them out are described very specifically according to sex. The objective of an adequate dwelling provided with infrastructure services (water, sewerage, electricity)benefits every one, but specially women, since it is they who spend all day in the house and do their household chores under more or less adverse conditions which take up more or less time. Similarly, an adequate access to education is beneficial for all individuals, but there is no doubt that in the access of women to education brings benefits to the entire family group and particularly to the children.

In short, as consumers and producers women share with those individuals who are in the same class situation as they are the same conditioning factors of the probabilities of life and personal destiny, with their specific effects being determined by the presence of sexual stereotypes and cultural patterns, and the social and sexual division of labour. These effects must be determined for the different class situations. The situation of women heads of household is a particularly clear example.

It is also possible to consider how the female component can be incorporated into current policies. For this purpose it is desirable to analyse, even briefly and generally, some types of policies which are frequently included in global development programmes and strategies and their relation to the situation of women.

(i) "Economic" policies apparently intended only to influence the levels of operation of the economy (investment, inflation, industrial development, etc.).

It is often the case that in the design and application of these policies no account is taken of their social impact, although their direct or indirect consequences are experienced differently by the different classes and the families and individuals belonging to them. This is one of the points in which the consequences of the analytical separation between the economic and social aspects of planning are most clearly expressed. The planners do not usually ask themselves what effects specific policies will have on the different classes and the families and individuals (including women) belonging to them. Considering the probable repercussions of economic policies on women would not benefit women but would also make it possible to begin to bring economic planning closer to social planning.

(ii) Integrated multisectoral policies, normally aimed at increasing employment, productivity, income and access to a series of services (education, health, housing, etc.) as is the case of the policies on critical poverty or integrated rural development. The activities undertaken are often directed ultimately at family units but in practice they tend to include only those headed by men.

Two types of undesirable effects are thus produced. On the one hand, in the case of family units headed by men, the nominal holder of the land (when there is allocation of land), of the credits, of the training in new techniques for production and marketing is the male head of the household. The fact that to this are added the changes which the policies introduce in the existing organization of work of all members of the family, explains why in many cases a phenomenon has been noted whereby women have been displaced from their previous productive fasks, aimed either at the market or the subsistence of the family unit itself. Families headed by women, which account for a fairly high percentage in the poor rural and urban sectors and which are usually those facing the most serious problems, tend to remain outside the scope of these policies. Consequently, this type of policy should be based on a diagnosis aimed at detecting whether there are family units headed by women and how many there are, so as to take them into account in preparing and implementing policies. Female heads of household are responsible for obtaining the family income and for domestic activity and face the difficulties resulting from the need to combine both tasks, as well as all the consecuences for the dependent children. In the case of family units headed by men, the exclusive involvement of the male head of the household in relations typical of a "modernized" economy has implications for the social and sexual division of labour, for intrafamily

relations and for the socialization of the children, and it increases subordination of women.

(iii) As regards sectoral social policies (education, health, housing, nutrition, etc.), it should be borne in mind that women play a part in them from several standpoints.

In the first place, as consumers of services, they do not have the same access as men do to many of these services which means that it must be determined what their real access is, and why they have less or differentiated access (if this is the case) in order to adopt such corrective measures as may be necessary.

Secondly, women play a key role in the implementation of social development policies because of their domestic activity, which means that top priority must be given to training them in certain areas (health, nutritions, etc.).

Thirdly, there are sectors in which women require special consideration (as in the health sector) or benefit particularly (basic services infrastructure, housing, simple technologies or forms of organization which lighten household work). Since the different categories of individuals are not in a situation of equality, nor do they have equal social roles, these two circumstances should be taken into account in the relevant programmes.

3. Specific issues

It has frequently been pointed out that the participation of women in different types of association is unsatisfactory. This unsatisfactory situation would seem to derive from the small number or women who take part or the fact that when they do join associations they have difficulty in reaching managing levels or contexts which are not those considered "typically" femenine. The participation of women is frequently spoken of as if it might be exempt from the rules of the game in force in the society as a whole for political, trade-union or any other type of participation.

The reason for the low level of participation of women in political organizations may be found in the difficulty of combining household work with such activities, a situation which is aggravated in the case of women who have a paid economic activity. The exceptions therefore seem to be found rather in the upper strata and among professionals or unmarried women.

Participation in territory-based associations (rural communities, neighbourhood boards, etc.), tends to be greater and may give rise to co-operative and mutual aid activities which would help reduce the burden of household chores.

As regards policies aimed at modifying sexual stereotypes, excessive emphasis is usually given to what has been called the distortion of the female image. As has been said, female and male are complementary and reciprocally related and one cannot rightly speak of the distortion of the female image without this involving some type of distortion in the male image too. Consequently it is recommended that any action proposed should not centre on female stereotypes but on sexual stereotypes.

Legislation has a wide-ranging role to fill, particularly as regards the family institution. In Latin America, joint ownership, parental authority, the duties and rights of spouses to each other and in respect of their children are still based on the Hispanic and Napoleonic legal tradition. It should, however, be recognized that this is an extremely sensitive and controversial issue because it involves family models with a long history and deep roots. It has often been noted that the problem does not lie so much in the lack of adequate legislation as in the timeliness of the legislation and the real possibilities of enforcing it. Despite these circumstances, the role of legislation in moulding situations , behaviour and attitudes is unquestionable and impact is considerable over the longterm.

4. Alternative strategies

The conceptual framework developed and the policy guidelines described above may be materialized in different strategies.

The choice of an appropriate strategy will naturally depend on the conditions inherent to each country, depending on the nature of the problems identified, as well as the limitations of the conceptual framework applied, the status of social development planning and the real specific weight of the planning system within the corresponding development style. However, in view of the general situation of the region, it may be suggested that a satisfactory strategy should: give priority to the poor rural and urban sectors; be a part of the global national or regional development programmes and strategies; be based on an integrated and multisectoral approach, given the mutual reinforcement of the inadequacies noted in the different sectors; take into account the role of the family in the daily and generational reproduction of individuals and the role in it of women, as specified for the dirrerent class situations.

Should it be decided to maintain the general development strategy in course, it might be appropriate to review the economic, multisectoral and social policies to find out to what extent they consider women as consumers and social or domestic producers, making such adjustments as may be necessary.

Another strategy might be to define exactly which are the target groups and decide on a central high-priority objective (for example, the supply of drinking water or the eradication of illiteracy for the entire rural population over a specific period). In connexion with this objective, action might be centred, resources channelled and other objectives and programmes structured as needs are established. If several countries of the region were to define a single central objective, a broad field would be opened up for horizontal technical co-operation and a basic framework made available for co-ordinating international assistance.

Another possible strategy, complementary to and not exclusive of the foregoing, might be one aimed at women through the improvement of the situation of families. Under such strategy, consideration should be given to a "minimum group of activities" which might include the following: 10/

(i) The provision of stable employment, with and adequate ninimum income and a place of work close to the family unit, for the head of the household (male or female);

(ii) Programmes of health, housing, education and basic infrastructure services aimed at lightening the burden of domestic work and allowing women to take up other activities;

(iii) Programmes of mass family education, beginning with primary education, specially designed for teenagers and young couples;

(iv) Programmes to organize families in neighbourhood or community associations;

(v) Adoption of legislative measures to support the objectives of the above programmes.

This group of actions is considered to be a minimum because if any one of them is missing, nothing can be done about the limitations which condition the organization of the poor family units and the whole series of consequences on the situation of their members, and particualrly of women and children. It is also considered minimum because the governments of the region are,to a greater or lesser extent, implementing policies in nearly all the directions indicated, and earmarking for these purposes human and financial resources, the co-ordination of which would increase their efficiency and make it possible to further rationalize the utilization of international technical assistance.

10/ For a longer description of this "minimum group" of objectives, see the study on The family as the immediate social framework of children and women included in the present document.

II. THE FAMILY AS THE IMMEDIATE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK OF CHILDREN AND WOMEN */

A. INTRODUCTION

In the section describing measures which should be taken for the incorporation of women into active economic, political, social and cultural life, the Regional Plan of Action for the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America devotes a subsection to the family, considered as "the nucleus which generates and transmits the values, norms and attitudes that orient the individual and collective conduct of the members of a society" and "a mediating institution between the individual and the social group" (paragraph 35). The section sets forth a series of action proposals which take into account not only the importance of the family for the situation of women (and viceversa), but also the importance of the family and of women for the healthy development of the children.

Furthermore, the United Nations General Assembly, when proclaiming 1979 as the International Year of the Child in resolution 31/169, decided that one of its objectives was to be the promotion of the welfare of children and the increased awareness on the part of the authorities and the general public

---

*/ Study prepared by CEPAL and UNICEF document on "The situation of children in Latin America and the Caribbean" submitted to the Executive Board of UNICEF at its special session in May 1979, and as a working document for the appraisal of the situation of women in Latin America and the Caribbean to be undertaken by the Second Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America, (Macuto, Venezuela, 12-16 November 1979).

of the special needs of children, and requested the bodies and organizations of the United Nations system to contribute to the preparation and attainment of the objectives of the International Year of the Child.

In conformity with these two mandates, and recognizing the real importance of the family as the mediating institution between the individual and the social group, the UNICEF Regional Office for the Americas and CEPAL have prepared this document containing their appraisal of the situation of children and women in Latin America and the Caribbean.

1. The family as a unit which produces goods and services and reproduces social agents

In order to understand the nature of family units in Latin America and the Caribbean, account must be taken of the way in which they are related to the economic system. For this purpose, it is necessary to consider their role in the production of goods and services both for the market and for their own consumption, as well as the activities they carry out in relation to the reproduction of the social agents which are its members (food, housing, clothing, infrastructure services, etc.). Production by family units for the market or for their own consumption is rare in urban zones and common in rural zones. In addition, within each zone there is a great variation in the quantity and quality of the activities undertaken by family groups, as well as in the objects and goods they possess for the daily and generational reproduction of their members.1/

Nevertheless, although the insertion of the family units in the economic system largely conditions how they function and develop, the family cannot be reduced to this dimension; the reproduction of social agents is not limited to biological and economic factors but includes other equally important aspects such as the conscious and unconscious learning of social relationships, language, cultural norms and patterns and values, all of which is strengthened by the affective components of primary, intimate relationships, which are particularly important in the early years of life.

1/ For a definition of "daily reproduction" and "generational reproduction", see the first study in this document.

It is in the family units that the biological, psychological and social individuality of the younger members is shaped and developed, and adults satisfy most of their material needs and receive most of their psychological gratification or deprivation. Furthermore, they are small groups with primary relationships, whose size is determined by the consanguineous or ritual forms of kinship prevailing in society.

This is enough to indicate the importance of the family as the immediate social framework of children in particular, and of the population in general; and to underline the fact that family units are points at which different levels of society (individual, group, societal) and different social dimensions (economic, educational, legal, cultural, etc.) intersect.

2. The family as the object of policies

(a) Differences between policies aimed at the family unit and policies aimed at some of its members (children, women)

As a rule, policies designed to affect the situation of children and women or the social conditions of the population have tended to overlook the family units to which their potential beneficiaries belong.

Furthermore, the policies designed to affect family units as such have dealt with specific aspects (usually birth control, mother and child health), without bearing in mind that the behaviour and relationships which form the life of family units respond to the needs that the units must tackle in their specific class situation. Naturally, the growth of mother and child health services or training of women, for example, will have some effect on the family, or on some families. But by failing to take into account the social relations which form the family unit, they can only have partial or palliative effects, especially if services of that kind are defined on the basis of uniform norms which assume that there is one single form of family unit constituting the national "type".

As far as children are concerned, in the last analysis specific policies are policies dealing with children whose situation is determined by the family. It is increasingly accepted, for example, that pre-school education services cannot be provided

without the co-operation of the mother and of the family to stimulate the child. In addition, a policy implemented through the mother as the reproductive agent may strengthen the sexual division of work and perpetuate "female" responsibility for certain tasks, thus conflicting with other policies aimed at securing greater equality between family members.

Policies and measures aimed at women can hardly take account of the complexity of their tasks and responsibilities in the daily and generational reproduction of social agents and in many cases, in social production. On the one hand, there is a tendency for women's ties with domestic labour to be strengthened, thus accentuating the sexual division of work and ignoring women's contribution to production. On the other hand, vocational training for the incorporation of women into a restricted labour market leads to family and social tensions as a result of the shortage of real job opportunities and prevailing cultural patterns.

The family is a policy object when it is recognized as a unit, with forms of make-up and conditions of existence as a group, with mutual relationships among its members, with stages of a certain duration, and with consequences for the life both of its members and of society. Thus policies aimed at the family are policies designed to maintain or modify all these aspects in accordance with models of how the family "should" be. Hence a problem arises for policy formulation: the existence of implicit or explicit family models upheld by different institutions and by the families themselves and their members. It must also be recognized that in situations of relatively rapid economic and social change, children will tend to form families of a type different from those into which they were born; policies aimed at their members should therefore take this dynamic process into account.

(b) <u>The family as a target group and as a strategic group for policies</u>

It is a commonplace to refer to the family as the basic social cell, and it is therefore worth pausing to consider the assumptions underlying this assertion: families have very different ways of being this cell. Nonetheless, in the style of development which prevails in the region, they are all, as individual units, responsible for the daily

and generational reproduction of their members, tasks which they shoulder directly or indirectly. This means that families have the task of obtaining the necessary resources for both types of reproduction, and thus domestic activities have an importance normally not recognized either by economists or planners, or even by the women themselves who have to undertake them.

The family organization is the most immediate social context of almost the entire population, and thus may be taken as a target group and as a strategic group from the policy standpoint.

When the family is taken as a policy target, various dimensions of the family group are taken into account:

(i) Its constitution, development and dissolution: age at which the couple forms the union; formalization of unions; number of children; stability of the union, etc.

(ii) Its internal relationships (husband-wife, parent-children, among siblings, nuclear family-kinship network, early forms of socialization; communication; authoritarianism; machismo, etc.);

(iii) Its external relationships as a group and the various circumstances which affect it (income, housing, infrastructure services, access to services, etc.).

When the family group is viewed as a policy target, this is because there is something about its present form or its repercussions on its members or society which it is desired to maintain or change. This attitude presupposes some idea of what is desirable or undesirable in family organization.

However, the prevailing form of family organization is vouchsafed by sets of deeply-rooted norms, values and beliefs which lay down 'who does what, with what and when', every day throughout the life and family cycles; and these are based on the habits, traditions and practical daily experience of the life of the family.

Consequently, policies designed to maintain or change family organization or any of its multiple dimensions must begin with an understanding of the real forms of organization currently in existence and the rationale on which they are based.

When family units are taken as strategic policy groups, what is being recognized is that they form the immediate social context of individuals and, particularly in the case of social policies designed to improve the quality of life of the

population (health, nutrition, education, housing, etc.), the fact that a steady improvement in the situation of individuals and, in particular, of children and women, cannot be achieved without taking into account the family conditions in which they live their lives.

One example will serve to illustrate this point. The increasingly severe problem of abandoned children tends to be attributed to the breakdown of family organization in the poor urban sectors of the population and, as a rule, the policies formulated are directed towards children as individuals. When speaking of family disorganization, a comparison is tacitly being made with the forms of constitution and development of organized families, thus overlooking the fact that the disorganization of the family is merely a specific way whereby certain sectors of the population organize their family life in certain circumstances. Thus the policies which have abandoned children as their target group, consider them as individuals and do not affect the situation of the families from which they come as a strategic group for those policies, will not attack the root of the problem, which will therefore persist or worsen. Mutatis mutandis, much the same can be said of policies aimed at increasing school attendance, reducing school drop-out and repetition, improving health and nutrition, avoiding prostitution and begging and, in general, improving the status of women.

(c) Importance of locating family units in their social situation

The assumption that family units are similar throughout the country or, at least, in rural zones or in urban zones, may lead to errors of analysis and to the adoption of policies whose effects are not those desired.

The class situation of a family is a key factor in policy formulation, since it conditions the forms in which the family unit is constituted, the relationships among its members and with society, the permanence of the unit as a group and, ultimately, the probabilities and type of life in store for the unit and its members.

The life cycle of family units has stages which can perhaps be categorized: union, birth of first child, first child goes to school, last child leaves home, death of one or both spouses; but this cycle will be affected by the class situation in

ways which it is important to recognize when adopting policies. It is probable that the duration of the stages of the family cycle is not the same for units in different classes; nor are the problems they face, the conditions in which they attempt to overcome them, or the solutions they find. Thus the different social situations condition the life strategies whereby the family units organize and use the resources they possess in order to carry out the daily and generational reproduction of their members and structure their demands upon society.

B. THE FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

1. Family trends and economic and social change

In the last two decades the region has undergone rapid economic and social change which has affected the living conditions of family units and their members. This is borne out by even a cursory review of some of the main processes which have, naturally, affected the different countries of the region and the different zones of individual countries to a varying degree.

In national terms, there has been a falling trend in birth rates and a rise in life expectancy at birth. Some sectors have maintained their fertility and, with declining mortality, the average number of family members has increased. Others, particularly the metropolitan middle strata, have managed to control their fertility and have arrived at families with an average number of members resembling that of some developed countries.

The processes of agricultural modernization, carried out primarily through improved technology and land concentration, have given the rural sector a dynamism far removed from its alleged immobilism, and broad sectors of what were once smallholders and share-croppers of various kinds (*minifundistas*, *aparceros*, *medieros*, etc.) have increasingly become permanent or seasonal wage-earning labourers. These rural changes have been recognized as one of the causes of the high rate of internal migration. The two processes are seen as having a series of consequences on the situation of families, including the change in the composition of the population by age and sex, in the places both of origin and of destination of the migrants, with the ensuing

effects on the formation of unions; the substantial change in the ways in which families obtain their income in cash or in kind, with the corresponding effects on the sexual division of labour and the distribution of authority within the family unit; the difficulty for children to have jobs similar to those of their parents, with its effects on the application of the knowledge, norms and values learnt in childhood; the commercialization of agriculture, which is increasingly linked with international markets at a time of a slow but steady deterioration in the terms of trade, and the monetarization of the rural economy, with its effect on income levels and nutritional difficulties; the urban settlement of newcomers in the "poverty belts" in unsatisfactory housing conditions characterized by overcrowding and sanitary and environmental problems.

The industrialization process, which in recent decades has mainly taken the form of investment in capital-intensive activities, has not generated enough jobs to absorb the supply of labour stemming from the natural growth of the population. In addition, it has been centred in the major cities and its effects have spread to the rest of the country, destroying the subsistence economies and artisanal production. Only a small percentage of the population has managed to become incorporated in the modern urban sector of the economy, and the State has had to intervene by creating jobs. The rest of the urban population, with few or no skills and no capital, have to find a way of obtaining an income in sporadic employment or the "informal sector". In the stratificational pyramid, the middle and top layers have a sufficiently large money income to purchase consumer durables to lighten the burden of domestic work and have access to suitable housing, education and services; and from this set of factors they obtain the basic motivation to have a nuclear family with few members. The situation from the middle layers downwards is considerably different.

Nevertheless, the rapid rate of change in family living conditions does not imply a similar rate of change in values and attitudes, patterns and lifestyles as regards the family and relationships among its members. This is particularly obvious in the survival of patterns and attitudes regarding the role of women and authority within family units.

2. Size, type and composition of households

The quantification of the various characteristics of families is of the utmost importance for an understanding of the magnitude of the problems and the formulation of suitable policies.

However, the very complexity of the subject stands in the way of definition and, consequently, measurement. In general, information on the family stresses these difficulties, which begin with the realization that the family is not the same as the household, and that taking the household as a domestic unit is very different from taking it as a housing unit. Censuses opt for one or the other concept, which limits their comparability. Much the same is true of surveys. In addition, the data given usually corresponds to national or residential area averages, which harbour profound differences. Moreover, the averages do not record the different stages of the family life cycle, which must necessarily be taken into account when formulating policies for children, women, housing, education, etc. It should be noted that the information obtained from the 1970 round of censuses as regards average size, composition and type of households has not been processed for the region, and there is only isolated, time-specific data for a few countries.

With these reservations, a review follows of the data available on the major aspects of families.

(a) Average size of households

As may be seen from table 1, the average size of household in the region is large in comparison with the industrialized countries, and broadly speaking tended to rise in the inter-censal period 1950-1960 and decline in the following decade. The demographic explanation for this lies in the constant or declining fertility rates and the rapid drop in mortality rates which together not only increase the number of surviving children but also prolong the duration of unions and consequently the total number of children. As may be seen from tables 2, 6 and 7, however, these national averages present great variations, in particular the differences among countries and the inverse relationship between a country's level of development and average household size. There are also differences by zones of residence, since urban zones usually have the smallest average size within countries.

The use of birth control, access to services which tend to reduce mortality, and pressure for upwards family mobility affect the number of children and the average size of households, which also varies according to a series of other factors. Extended households, with a male head belonging to an advanced age cohort, married and economically active, tend to be larger in size.

(b) Type of household

Nuclear households predominate in the region, i.e., households consisting exclusively of one or two parents and their children. This predominance increases with urbanization and industrialization (see tables 3, 4 and 5). The nuclear family predominates in the case of male heads of households who are married or have formed informal unions and are economically active. This might indicate that in most cases women only become heads of households in the man's absence and, in those cases, turns to other relatives or unrelated persons to increase the household income, to have someone to do the domestic tasks while they work, or for social security reasons. These would appear to be the survival strategies of households with female heads.

It should be borne in mind that the census of household types indicates a pattern of residence rather than kinship network and their functions.

(c) Composition of households

Tables 6 and 7 show the average components of households and the percentage contribution of the different categories of members to that average. Since the various categories of members are defined by their relationship to the household head, the latter appears as a constant whose percentage contribution declines with the rise in the number of members, a fact of no little importance in intra-family relationships. The percentage contributions of the categories made up of spouses and other relations do not vary systematically with the number of household members, and thus the basic category in the variation of household composition is the number of children.

Considering the countries for which information is available for two years (Mexico, Costa Rica and Nicaragua: see table 6) it may be noted that in a ten-year period the variation in household composition has only changed slightly.

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA (SELECTED COUNTRIES): AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE

Country	Year	Households	
		Average size a/	Difference (percentage)
Argentina	1970	4.1	-
Barbados	1970	4.8	-
Brazil	1950	5.1	
Brazil b/	1960	5.1	0.0
Brazil	1970	5.0	-2.0
Costa Rica	1950	5.5	
Costa Rica c/ d/	1963	5.8	+5.4
Chile	1970	5.2	-
El Salvador	1970	5.6	-
Guatemala	1950	4.9	
Guatemala c/	1964	5.2	+7.0
Honduras	1950	4.9	
Honduras	1961	5.7	+16.0
Mexico e/	1950	5.0	
Mexico	1960	5.4	+7.9
Mexico	1970	5.2	-4.0
Nicaragua	1950	5.9	
Nicaragua c/	1963	6.1	+4.1
Panama	1950	4.5	
Panama c/ f/	1960	4.7	+4.7
Perú g/	1972	5.2	-
Puerto Rico	1950	5.0	
Puerto Rico c/ f/	1960	4.8	-5.2
Dominican Republic	1950	4.8	
Dominican Republic	1960	5.0	+3.5
Trinidad and Tobago	1946	4.0	
Trinidad and Tobago	1960	4.5	+11.9
Venezuela	1950	5.3	
Venezuela h/	1961	5.3	0.0

Sources: United Nations, Statistical Yearbook, 1955, 1962 and 1963: "Special Topic: Marriage and Divorce Statistics", Demographic Yearbook, 1968, Panama, Censos Nacionales de 1960, Sexto Censo de Población y Segundo de Vivienda. Tomo VII, p. 10.

PANTELIDES, Edith Alejandra. "El hogar como unidad de análisis de los datos censales: importancia, posibilidades". Burch, Thomas Lira, Luis Felipe and Lopes, Valdemir F., eds., La Familia como unidad de estudio demográfico. CELADE, San José, 1976, pages 100 and 359.

OAS, América en cifras, 1974, Table 401-02, for the 1970 figures for Argentina, Barbados, Brazil, Chile, El Salvador and Mexico.

a/ Arithmetic mean.
b/ Excludes native population of jungle areas.
c/ Based on a sample of census forms.
d/ Includes collective households.
e/ Excludes Canal Zone.
f/ De jure population.

Table 2

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD SIZE, BY TYPE OF LOCATION

Country	Year	Type of location	Average size
Paraguay	1950	Urban zone	5.3
	1962	Urban zone	5.4
	1950	Rural zone	5.5
	1962	Rural zone	5.5
Panama	1970	Most urbanized zones a/	5.0
	1970	Intermediate urbanized zones a/	5.5
	1970	Least urbanized zones a/	5.3
Uruguay b/		Urban nuclei in rural zones	4.7
		Rural zone	4.2
		Working-class households in Montevideo	4.1
Colombia b/ (Bogotá)		Households in working-class districts	6.0
Peru (Arequipa)	1960	Working-class households	5.3
	1960	Employee households	6.7

Sources: For Paraguay: Rivarola, Domingo. Apuntes para el estudio de la familia en el Paraguay. Revista Paraguaya de Sociología: Asunción, Centro Paraguayo de Estudios Sociológicos, año 8, No 21 mayo-agosto, 1971, pp. 84-104. For Panama: Guerra, Federico. Draft of a Study on household size and composition in Panama, 1970, presented at the Seminar on Demography of households and families, CELADE, 1974, 14 pp. For Uruguay: Solari, Aldo E., and Franco, Rolando. "La familia en el Uruguay", América Latina. Río de Janeiro, Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales, año 14, No 3 1/4, Julio-diciembre, 1971, pp.3-33. For Colombia: Flinn, William L., "Family Life of Latin American Urban Migrants. Three case studies in Bogotá", Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs. Miami, University of Miami, Vol. 16, No 3, August 1974, pp. 326-329. For Peru: Palacios, Leoncio M., Encuesta socioeconómica de familias obreras en Arequipa, Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Comerciales. Lima, No 63, julio-diciembre, 1961, pp. 140-148.

a/ Includes only nuclear households, except one-person households.
b/ No date indicated.

The variations in the percentages accounted for by the spouses of the household head and other members may be due to a number of reasons, including death, other forms of dissolution of unions, internal migrations, or other situations solved by residing permanently or temporarily in the home of relations.

Since the poor rural and urban households show a larger number of children, the low family income becomes a relative per capita income well below the national average. It is one of the reasons which explain, in these sectors, why women work at any activity which allows them to earn some income, and also the fact that children begin to work at an early age, with a corresponding effect on their education.

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILY IN SOME CITIES

(Around 1959-1960)

	Nuclear	Mixed	Extended
Buenos Aires	75.1	9.0	15.9
Santiago	68.8	21.2	10.1
Río de Janeiro a/	65.7	21.8	12.5
Río de Janeiro b/	57.1	28.5	14.4
São Paulo	73.3	19.7	6.0
Belo Horizonte	70.3	24.3	4.7
Juiz de Fora	61.5	22.7	15.8
Volta Redonda	56.7	32.7	8.6
Americana	64.7	28.2	7.1

Sources: Bock, E. Wilbur, Sujiyama Iutaka and Berardo, Félix M., "La familia nuclear y extendida en áreas urbanas de la Argentina, el Brasil y Chile". Thomas Bock, E. Wilbur, Sujiyama Iutaka and Berardo, Félix M., "La urbanización y la familia extensa en el Brasil", in Burch, Thomas et al., La familia como unidad de estudio demográfico, CELADE: San José, pages 251 and 388.

a/ Figures from first source.
b/ Figures from second source.

(d) Other aspects

The average age of marriage or marital union varies both among and within countries. In Chile, in 1968, the national average age was 26.5 years for men and 23.9 years for women, while in Bolivia, in 1969, these ages were 21.8 and 20.2 years respectively; in Rio de Janeiro, in 1969, the average age at which women married or entered unions was 21.1 years. Various studies have shown, however, that age at marriage is directly related to urban residence, parental status and level of education.

Legal unions predominate over consensual unions in the region, but the marriage rate, which refers only to the former, varies directly with urbanization and the size of the middle strata in relation to a country's total population. In addition, consensual unions increase in rural areas and in the low urban strata, and tend to occur at an earlier age than legal unions.

In the urban zones of the region, as in the developed countries, there is a rise in the dissolution of legal unions by divorce or separation. This tends to be more frequent in unions which have lasted between 6 and 15 years, and if the marriage took place between

Table 4

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF FAMILY IN A WORKING-CLASS DISTRICT OF CALI

(Around 1968)

Total nuclear families	69.5		100.0
Nuclear families with male head		62.0	89.2
Nuclear families with female head		7.5	10.8
Total extended families	23.0		100.0
Extended families with male head		17.0	73.9
Extended families with female head		6.0	26.1
Other types of family	7.5		
	(100.0)	(100.0)	

Source: Ashton, Guy T., "Urbanization and increased working-class identity in Cali, Colombia", Américas Latina, Río de Janeiro, Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales, año 14, Nº 1/2, janeiro-junho 1971, pp. 70-81.

young persons, if the household head has no stable work or if the wife works outside the home.

This is enough to indicate that the quantitative information on families does not refer to relationships within or outside the family; in addition, it displays the serious lack of research and quantitative data without which the magnitude and extent of the problems and the costs involved in the formulation of policies cannot be assessed.

3. Some particular situations

In describing some typical cases in a variety of social situations, the aim will be to give an account of the family's set of internal and external relationships and the structural elements which shape its particular life strategy, with special reference to the implications for women and the situation of children.

(a) The family of the small agricultural producer

In the social stratification of the rural Latin American population, the small agricultural producer falls in the "intermediate" group located between the large rural entrepreneur at one end of the scale and the landless labourer or small-holder at the othe. end. However, these groups are not homogeneous. They are being affected by the changes which are taking place in the rural societies and economies of the region in recent decades, largely as a result of the technological modernization of agricultural production, the growing

Table 3

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE IN THE DEPARTAMENTO OF BELEN, ARGENTINA, 1969 AND IN THE CANTON OF GRECIA, COSTA RICA, 1966[a]

	Belén			Grecia		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Nuclear and one-person	53.9	58.9	43.5	65.5	70.0	49.0
Extended	26.9	22.7	33.4	20.8	17.6	33.0
Compound	19.2	18.4	23.1	13.6	12.4	18.0
Head of family, by sex	100.0	67.6	32.4	100.0	79.2	20.8

Source: Pantelides, Edith Alejandra, "El hogar como unidad de análisis de los datos censales: Importancia y posibilidades", in Burch, Thomas et al., La familia como unidad de estudio demográfico, CELADE, San José, Costa Rica, 1976.

a/ The author establishes that the departamento of Belén belongs to one of the least developed provinces of Argentina, Catamarca, which is an area of agriculture and traditional artesanal activities, with a very small urban zone (a little over 1 500), it is therefore an interesting case in view of its extreme features. The canton of Grecia in Costa Rica is a sugar- and coffee- producing area, crossed by national highways and close to the capital. In the canton a census was taken of the typically rural districts of San José and San Isidro and the urban zone.

incorporation of the rural economy to the national economic system, and the natural growth of the rural population. There are major differences, for example, between the small producers (and their family units) who are progressively being taken over by modern agricultural enterprises and those who have access to capital and technology and are beginning to grow and modernize. There are differences between the small producers engaged in specialized production for trade and industry and those engaged in a variety of activities primarily for subsistence; and between those who do not need to work as wage-earning labourers and those who do, albeit seasonally. In the present study we shall describe above all the family units of the latter sector, the small producers who engage in seasonal paid work.

The small agricultural producer works a piece of land which suffices for the subsistence of his family unit. With little or no modern technology and few natural resources, his productivity is very low and therefore his position has sometimes been assimilated to a situation of disguised underemployment or unemployment. The subdivision of the smallholding and the deterioration of the soil cause his annual income to drop steadily, a problem he tackles to some extent by working some of the year as a labourer. Thus he has the dual status of labourer and landowner which recurs throughout the life-cycle of the family unit. The elder son, who has had to go out to work as a labourer, on marriage returns to work the part of the family smallholding which has been made over to him, and in turn works part of the time as a wage-earner. The children who cannot receive land join the rural or urban labour force as labourers or own-account workers, with the result that the knowledge,

Table 6

LATIN AMERICA (SELECTED COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS TO AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Country	Year	Average members	Percentages			
			Head	Spouse	Children	Other members
Argentina	1960	4.5	23.3	16.3	41.9	18.5
Cuba	1953	4.9	20.4	14.3	46.9	18.4
Guatemala	1950	4.9	20.4	13.3	48.9	16.4
Brazil	1950	5.1	19.7	13.7	52.9	11.7
Panama	1960	5.2	19.2	13.5	48.1	19.2
Venezuela	1961	5.4	18.5	11.1	42.5	27.8
Chile	1960	5.5	18.2	12.7	47.4	21.7
Mexico	1950	5.0	20.0	16.0	52.0	12.0
Mexico	1960	5.4	18.5	14.8	55.6	11.1
Costa Rica	1950	5.5	18.2	12.7	52.7	16.4
Costa Rica	1963	5.7	17.5	12.3	56.2	14.0
Nicaragua	1950	5.8	17.2	10.3	48.4	24.1
Nicaragua	1963	6.2	16.1	11.3	48.4	24.1
Honduras	1950	6.0	16.7	11.7	55.0	16.6

Source: Based on the table in Pantelides, Edith Alejandra, "El hogar como unidad de análisis de los datos censales: importancia, posibilidades" in Burch, Thomas, et.al., La familia como unidad de estudio demográfico, CELADE, San José, 1976, p. 98.

norms and values they have acquired within their families are hardly applicable. The lot of the daughters is marriage or migration to the city to find domestic work or attempt to continue their secondary or technical education. As a rule, the probability of reproducing the family unit is low and the consequences of the life strategy end up being the smallholding or migration.

The family unit as such is responsible for social production (working the plot, marketing and reproduction of the process) and partially for their reproduction of the social agents (housekeeping chores, preparing food, making clothes, minding the children, raising poultry and small animals, vegetable gardening). These reproductive activities are subordinated to the needs of production, with the result that family consumption is affected by the fluctuations of harvests or the income obtained from them. The sexual division of labour is based on this distinction between economic work and domestic work. The man and his sons are responsible for the tasks involved in social productions; the women for the tasks involved in the domestic reproduction of the social agents, although they also work in the fields when necessary.

Table 7

AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD COMPONENTS, BY RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, MONTEVIDEO

	Total	Father	Mother	Children	Relatives	Servants
Whole city	5.85	0.85	0.96	1.42	0.54	0.10
Percentage	100.00	21.60	24.90	36.90	14.00	2.40
Household heads employed in public sector	4.50	0.90	1.00	2.10	0.50	
Percentage	100.00	20.00	22.20	46.70	11.10	
Household heads employed in private sector	5.40	1.00	1.00	2.00	1.40	
Percentage	100.00	18.50	18.50	37.10	25.90	

Sources: For the whole city: Solari, Aldo E. and Franco, Rolando. "La familia en el Uruguay", América Latina, Río de Janeiro, Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones en Ciencias Sociales, año 14, nº 3/4, julho-dezembro, 1971, pp. 3-33. No date given for data. For the distinction between household heads employed in the public and private sectors: Unión Nacional Católica de Acción Social (UNCAS), Aspectos económicos de la familia en Montevideo, Montevideo, UNCAS, 1956, VIII Semana Social del Uruguay. Publication of UNCAS with the co-operation of the Junta Nacional de la Acción Católica del Uruguay and the editorial board of its organ, "Tribuna Católica".

Authority is exercised by the husband or the wife according to the sphere in which a decision must be taken although decisions about social production are always more important. At an early age the children begin to help with household tasks and little by little join in productive work. In some cases they are given a small patch of land or an animal which they raise from an early age and for which they are totally responsible. Besides providing a little capital which the son or daughter can administer freely, this practice is a form of training for the tasks they will have to shoulder as adults. In the case of crafts, these are undertaken as family work in which each member carries out a specific task.

The dwelling has the minimum conveniences: two or three rooms acting as bedrooms and kitchen (which sometimes serves as a dining room), latrine, well and wood burning stove.

Despite the expansion of education in rural zones, which leads to a better educational level in comparison with parents, school drop-out and repetition are normal since it is difficult for the family to do without their children's labour during all or part of the school year. Women have a better educational level than their brothers, which is one motivation for migrating with the support of relations residing in the city. High value is attached to education as a mobility factor. An "educated" person has authority, is "intelligent", and is "not suited for the countryside". Health is affected by the nutritional conditions which vary seasonally according to the type and quantity of product available once the proportion of the harvest set aside for sale has been fixed. Food is little varied and access to other products is difficult, because of high prices and distance from markets. The possibility of professional medical care before, during and after child birth is very limited. Children are born at home and the mother is cared for by a local midwife.

Marriage tends to be legal, although consensual unions are socially accepted. Residence is patrilocal, due to land subdivision. The number of dependents per household may be high because of migrations of persons of working age. In many cases, the household head looks after the grandchildren, the children of the girls who work in the city and have become unmarried mothers.

In these units there is no separation between household and place of work. The members share daily the vicissitudes of work together as well as all the major events in their lives. The family is a closed and almost complete nucleus. Time is organized according to working and living needs with virtually no free time or holidays. Daily work repeating practices handed down from generation to generation, the mutual dependence of joint work, the consequences for all members of the work and consumption of each of them, the fact of remaining together all day every day, all mean that in general these units are very stable because of the solidarity of all their members.

Social relations are based on family and compadrazgo links which provide means of control and cohesion. Their view of the world related to nature

and the local residential area, has been influenced by the mass media, contact with distant markets and relations in the cities, and seasonal migrations. They continue to be inward-looking family units, without any capacity for social organization and thus without any real possibility of exerting pressure or making demands on society. The identification of their members with the family unit rather than intermediate groups makes it impossible for them to perceive their situation within society as a whole.

The economic insecurity of these units - with little or no weight in the market, limited access to credit and dependent on any factor affecting their social production, almost always of a single product - is largely determined by the type of social and organizational relationships described above, with obvious consequences on their potential for change and the effectiveness of policies aimed at them.

During the period when the men migrate, the women become responsible for the family unit, which leads to the case of seasonal women household heads. This has a series of consequences for the situation of women (normally unused to carrying out tasks which bring them a money income) and for the family unit.

(b) The family of the seasonal labourer in the plantation sector.

When the large and growing numbers of landless workers are unable to establish contractual or traditional links with a large estate on a permanent basis and do not emigrate to frontier regions or distant urban conglomerations, they usually settle by squatting on land adjacent to the large estate or along the road-side, or else on the periphery of small nearby settlements.

The virtual absence of a family plot which would provide for their family needs forces them to seek work in places which are sometimes quite distant. At times they are hired in groups and transported daily or for a season to places of work. On other occasions they themselves form groups which emigrate seasonally in search of work. This circumstance means that the men are away from the households for the whole day or for longer periods. Housing is primitive and offers little shelter from nature. There is no drinking water or electricity and natural functions must be satisfied in the proximity of the dwelling. The small family income

is almost entirely consumed by inadequate food and clothing. The organization of family work is governed by the logic stemming from the desperate economic situation of units of this kind. Men are responsible for obtaining a money income and, shouldering this obligation, are absent for more or less lengthy periods. In their absence, women become the household heads and survive, with the help of the children, by obtaining some food from the small vegetable plot around the dwelling, selling some products grown in that plot or gathered in neighbouring fields, or making and selling some kind of handicraft; they usually also carry out some domestic work in a nearby house where they can earn a wage, however small. In any case, they are responsible for the tasks directly related to daily and generational reproduction: fetching water and wood, preparing food, looking after clothing. If they too must leave the home, an elder daughter becomes responsible for these tasks. However little able to do so, all children attempt to obtain some kind of income (in money or kind).

These unions tend to be informal, unstable and frequently headed by women, although often this is merely an appearance resulting from seasonal work or living conditions. This type of family unit tends to have a large number of children.

Exposure to the mass media is very small. They are not wholly uninformed, but what information they receive from urban areas is deciphered in the light of their own reality. Personal relationships are one of the main sources of news, which usually concerns job possibilities.

The availability of, and access to, education and health services are minimal. Normally there is a distrust of government agents; they feel cheated by them, since on the one hand they hope that they will solve their most vital problems, and on the other they consider them directly or indirectly responsible for their present situation.

In this general context, relations between spouses, in the case of stable unions, have a very low level of verbalization; what they have is basically a solidarity and undisplayed affection which stems from having to share extremely difficult situations. The parental models internalized by the children are those of an absent, sporadic or rotating, authoritarian and incommunicative father, and an intropunitive mother, overburdened with work, but closer and providing what little display of affection they receive.

These family units usually hold to the dream of gaining or regaining a piece of land, educating the children sufficiently to improve their general living conditions, and escaping from poverty. However, given the overall processes in which they are caught up, the probabilities of succeeding in doing so are very small. The greatest likelihood is that they will continue in their present situation or be forced to emigrate to the urban periphery.

As was pointed out earlier, the woman in this type of family unit, is either permanently or seasonally the de facto household head. In these circumstances, she is responsible not only for everything that has to do with generational and daily reproduction (food, clothing, child-care, etc.) but must carry out all these tasks in the worst possible conditions. In this type of family unit it is impossible even to think of making any kind of investment to improve the conditions of domestic work. In addition, the woman remains responsible for maintaining the unit in the absence of her spouse, for which she undertakes any kind of activity which enables her to gain some income, however small: harvest work, handicrafts, occasional or regular work. In view of her educational level and the daily situation as described above, it is easy to imagine the content of the education she transmits to her children. One aspect of this content which is handed down, however tacitly, concerns the different roles of men and women.

In the above conditions, it is not surprising that children have high rates of malnutrition, with the resulting intestinal and parasitic diseases and high mortality rates. The children of these family units, if they are able to get access to the formal educational system, hardly get past the first years of primary education, so that in the best of cases they end up being functional illiterates. This is the result not only of the low incomes and the living conditions of the family unit but also of the need for them to start working at a very early age to gain some kind of income. Thus they remain in a position in which they can only undertake unskilled work, and constitute the great mass of potential migrants. If the family migrates to the city when they are still young, they will have access to education and health services and so on, although some of them will resort to begging, delinquency or prostitution.

(c) The family of the Andean altiplano

The information available refers primarily to Aymara families living in a radius of up to 100 kms. from the city of La Paz. However, it is widely agreed that the strong survival of pre-Colombian cultural patterns and the similarity of the colonial forms of organization of agricultural property mean that this information also extends to the native communities of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian altiplano, with the variations stemming from the historical evolution of each.

The families own small pieces of land, the titular owner being the male head of family. Agriculture is the main activity, not only as a means but also as an end, with risks reduced to a minimum and the security of the family unit's subsistence raised to a maximum; this determines what is virtually a self-contained form of living. There is almost no mechanization and only the minimum technical or administrative assistance. However, the marketing network has increased with the creation of local markets and contacts with urban markets; crops are harvested for these, in order to obtain cash incomes. There has also been a rise in the consumption of industrial goods (transistor radios, bicycles, ready-made clothing, etc.).

This expansion of the market has led to building along the roadside, and changes have occurred in housing characteristics: zinc roofing has tended to replace straw; the number of rooms increases, sometimes to as much as three; windows are installed. However, the typical household remains the set of relationships among persons who eat together and sleep in a group of two or four houses built around a patio, with rough furniture made by the members themselves, without electricity, drinking water or sewerage, and without any division between the housing and the pens for chickens and other animals.

The family units must obtain their food, clothing and housing from the product of their plots. Every year similar quantities of same products are sown and similar harvests reaped. As a rule, the portion for consumption by the family is considered more important than the portion for marketing, whether by barter or sale. Producers market their own harvest for cash income, either in person or through intermediaries from their own community. Since the incomes in cash and kind from agriculture are inadequate, they supplement them

with other activities (carpentry, masonry, etc.). In addition, in order to earn extra money the men migrate seasonally for a few weeks or months of the year. The resources stemming from the smallholding, either for consumption by the family or for marketing, and from other activities, as well as the money earned during these temporary migrations, are in all barely sufficient to guarantee a minimum level of subsistence. In a situation where the importance of money income for obtaining food and clothing is increasing, interest in possessing other industrial goods has grown and patterns of expenditure linked with responsibilities stemming from different holiday festivities and forms of compadrazgo (baptism and marriage being most important) continue to prevail.

The main agricultural operations are the responsibility of the family head, who is assisted by the other members when necessary, which is nearly always. His spouse controls domestic matters, helps in the fields, washes, dries, cards, spins and weaves the wool. When her children are small and her other obligations leave her the time, she goes to tend the sheep from the early hours of the day until the evening. Although sheepherding is the main economic contribution of children over six, they also help in domestic chores, looking after their siblings, and fetching water for the home. Within this overall organization of work, the form in which migration takes place in order to earn extra money incomes is a source of variation in the organization of the family units throughout the altiplano.

Girls marry between 13 and 22 years of age, and young men between 20 and 25. Marriage by abduction is common and was the rule in the past. A bachelor is considered to be an incomplete person. Families are very stable, which must be viewed in relation with family ownership of the land and an overall form of life in which the family is central. The average number of children per family is a little over five.

These units have their own communication media consisting of their relations, whom they see during holiday festivities or on special visits. Transistor radios have linked them to the national community, but not newspapers and magazines, since few of them can read Spanish.

The services they receive are very rudimentary and the greatest importance is attached to education

In almost all communities there is a school with a few teachers, often paid by the community itself, who provide a number of courses, live in the city (which affects their daily attendance) and, in some cases, have language problems, which is also usually the case of most public service officials. The people still use traditional healing methods, although sometimes they also use modern medicines. Foreign religious organizations make a major contribution to educational health services. In general, there are no postal and telegraphic services.

These families move within a number of relationship networks, which include: the persons living in the same group of dwellings which they regard as their home, the relations and other persons whom they visit frequently, their distant relations and their relationships stemming from the exchange of labour and financial assistance (ayni, minka).

Children are expected to be quiet, hard-working, courteous, meek and well-behaved. They continue helping their parents and the land is distributed only upon the latter's death. Thus until that time they are not completely independent. Parents are expected to be affectionate towards their children and to look after them. Their links with their children and the close relationship between children and the parental home continues despite migration.

With the expansion of the market, the possession of a lorry has become the ambition of the heads of these units. Meanwhile, the children's education is considered to be of key importance and the school is the most discussed topic in meetings: buildings, holidays, the ability of the teachers. Generally they accept that their children should go to the city and learn a profession or job in order to become as similar to urban young people as possible.

The possibility of survival of this type of family unit is threatened on a number of fronts. On the one hand, the land is too heavily populated to be able to accommodate the younger generations and when they marry the elder sons must seek other work. The younger children remain with their parents, but when the plot is divided out among the many children, the shares are inadequate for each member. In addition, the conveniences of the market have paved the way for migration. Most adolescents wish to leave the community: the girls,

to be sales-girls or maids, the boys to work as bakers, truck drivers, tailors or industrial workers.

Mention has already been made of the amount of domestic work that is done by women, as well as the various activities they carry out in connection with production from the family land, shepherding and weaving. But that is not all. The woman is usually responsible for marketing the crops for a cash income. While still girls they begin to travel to the urban market where, little by little, they learn selling skills and build up a stable clientele, which brings them further clients. They themselves become the clients of other sellers in their own community and local markets, from whom they purchase merchandise for resale in the urban market. They have relations (uncles, brothers) with whom they can lodge if necessary, and from whom they receive support. The woman thus becomes an important prop for the economic welfare of her family.

Both parents, but particularly the mother, are responsible for informal education regarding domestic skills, healing with herbs, aspects linked with magic and religious rites, prophecy, kinship networks and traditional measurements of time, space and weight. The children learn all this during their early socialization, but it is of little use when they move to the urban environment, except when they return to the countryside to help their parents.

Sexual stereotypes are pronounced from an early age and subsequently take the form, inter-alia, of the refusal of many of these families to send their daughters to school. During infancy, games are separated by sex, and usually best friends belong to the same sex.

Children are breast feed for at least two years. Then diet is usually deficient in calories and proteins. Early childhood is usually referred to as "the dangerous years", because diseases such as diarrhoea, scarlet fever, dysentery, influenza and tuberculosis are rife.

One of every four live births dies in childhood, and of these half die before the age of five, and a quarter within a year. There are also cases of infanticide linked with illegitimacy, incest or large families.

Girls rarely complete three years of schooling while boys on average complete four years. Sometimes they go to adult night school. Despite the

great value attached to it, education is always subordinated to the need to fit it in with the organization of family work.

Girls and boys acquire from their parents the training for subsequent occupations in agricultural activities. Adolescent girls begin to learn marketing skills from their mothers. In addition to agricultural activities, the boys learn other occupations once they have done their compulsory military service, or even earlier if they have gone to live temporarily with a relation in the city.

As regards the family unit, however, shepherding is the children's main economic contribution, beginning at 4 or 5 years of age. At 8 years of age, girls and boys go to the mountains far from the village to tend their flocks alone. At about 10, they become responsible for cattle and mules, if there are any. The older children also go to the mountains and stay there for a week with other relations with whom they have gathered the flocks for grazing.

(d) The family of the "informal" metropolitan sector

The family units of the so-called informal sector, comprising the independent workers with no capital and wage-earners engaged in sporadic activities with few or no skills, survive on the collective contribution of their members to the family income.

The husband does jobs usually linked with personal services and construction, and receives an income which is not enough to feed the family. Hence an essential element of the family's survival strategy is the economic contribution of the wife and older children. The income provided by the women is particularly important in the case of consensual unions, which are very frequent in the region, where there is a kind of shared responsibility for obtaining the basic resources for consumption. The job instability or unemployment of the head of the household and the short duration of unions are factors which lead to a high rate of single-parent families in which the mother becomes the household head, the source of authority and the economic support.

Domestic service in homes, personal services carried out in her own home and trade are the women's main source of income. Unlike other women from other poorer urban sectors, the women from the informal sector tend to be permanently employed

since their contribution to the family income cannot be interrupted if the family is to achieve subsistence levels.

The older children reproduce the occupational activities of their parents, leaving school at an early stage and with no job skills whatsoever. In the case of families with very low incomes - usually single-parent families - the younger children also become involved in work or begging. Sometimes they are handed over to better-off relations. Persons who do not belong to the family nucleus (relations, recent immigrants) may provide a further contribution in terms of income or replacement in some domestic or educational tasks.

The family units of the informal sector recently incorporated into urban areas are found in different ecological contexts, either crowded in old housing in the ageing city centre or, more typically, in peripheral shanty towns which have resulted from spontaneous or organized squatting. In this context the proportion of young people is higher than in the rest of the city, as is that of children aged between 0 and 9 years. Although the nuclear family (with both parents or only the mother present) is characteristic, at times there are "complex" families made up of a number of family nuclei, consisting of from 4 to 7 members, sharing some facilities but retaining their economic independence. Despite the sector's typically limited ability for autonomous organization, as a result of organized mobilization for land occupation there have been instances of the installation of community kitchens, laundries and baths run by local committees. The social relationships which are formed tend to be based more on family links or informal groups in the same residential area than on any type of organization. The compadrazgo system is the primary mechanism of assistance and union among family units, both in the city and with relations who still inhabit rural zones.

The housing is built by the families themselves using scrap materials; services are minimal (water available from a central tap serving a number of houses or distributed by municipal tankers, lack of sewerage and electricity, which is sometimes illegally tapped from the public electrification grid). Although very soon the family begins to raise a more permanent and solid dwelling on the same spot, the family project attaches greater priority to gaining a deed of ownership to

the land it occupies, a local school, and electricity rather than housing as such. This ranking is very often contrary to government policies aimed at eliminating extreme poverty or urban planning policies, which are aimed at providing housing before any other services, for which purpose the families in question are committed to paying mortgages. This is shown by the fact that families frequently leave such housing in order to return to their earlier places of residence.

The family income fluctuates between levels of indigence and subsistence. Food and clothing account for all the resources available for family consumption, for which the income of the household head is not sufficient. Only rarely is some amount set aside for housing improvements; and never for saving. Health and education are viewed as the responsibility of the State. The head of the household is illiterate or has only completed the early years of primary education. He has no formal skills, although as a result of his experience in different kinds of work and as a means of increasing his job opportunities his minimal occupational skills are wide-ranging. The occupational level of the wife is always lower, and the children are usually several years behind at school or have dropped out altogether. The father has formal authority, although the structure and coherence of the family nucleus is based on the mother, whose presence is more permanent - and sometimes she is the sole parent. The woman carries out domestic chores with some help from her daughters, manages the family budget and is responsible for socialization and the survival of cultural patterns. Her social status is lower than that of the man, and she participates less in formal organizations. In some cases, however, it is the older women who are responsible for contacts with government officials and mobilizing the population of their shanty towns when the authorities so require. This role may be explained by their greater willingness to negotiate, and because they directly feel the lack of services and their effects on the children.

Consensual unions and cohabitation prior to legal marriage are socially accepted practices. However, these unions are unstable and short-lived, one destructive factor being the man's alcoholism. This gives rise to the sporadic presence of a number of paternal figures, leading to the affective instability of the family and the predominance of mere control and punishment. Children very often leave home and go through cycles of living on the

streets, at home and in rehabilitation institutions. The size of the family unit is large, and high value is attached to children as a supportive factor; there is some knowledge of contraceptive methods, although their use is less frequent than in other urban sectors.

(e) The family unit of office workers

The family unit described below is typically that of office workers, whether in the public or private sector, whose jobs do not involve managerial responsibility. Their characteristics may be generalized to cover employees in business with stable jobs. This is the large mass of white-collar workers which has grown up due to State job creation, the growth of demand for social services (health, education, housing, social security) and partly from the modernization of the economy.

These family units are predominantly urban and at some stage in the family life cycle have, through a mortgage institution, acquired a solid dwelling which ensures some privacy for each member. They have water, electricity and sanitary facilities within the dwellings, and they are almost fully equipped with consumer durable goods and domestic appliances.

Their income is entirely in money form, and is earned both by the head of household and his wife, who works in some kind of paid job, also as an office worker or saleswoman, either temporarily or permanently, full time or part-time. The total money income is enough to permit an economic rationale based on some kind of budgeting. The percentage of total income devoted to food is lower than in the other types of family units, and the proportion devoted to other purposes and to hire-purchase is a good indicator of the needs and aspirations of these units.

Regular working hours, the enjoyment of at least one and a half free days a week, the type of housing and the household fixtures and appliances make domestic work easier, although no less routine. It is always the responsibility of the woman. The man may do it from necessity or out of good will, but it is not his responsibility. The children carry out small domestic tasks, more as a form of apprenticeship and discipline than out of necessity.

As a general rule, there are stable family units resulting from a formal union which is not

entered into at a very early age, and they rarely have more than three children.

They are fully exposed to the mass media (radio, television, newspapers, magazines, street advertising) and are thus in possession of news of all kinds.

Through their trade-union organizations or the public infrastructure they have access to education and health services at relatively low prices. Usually, however, they consider these to be of low quality and if they could afford it they would use private services.

The man continues to be considered the head of the household, an image reinforced by a whole series of daily events (sitting at the head of the table, first to be served at table, treated with respect, etc.); however, there is a considerable amount of equality and comradeship in the relations between the spouses and between them and their children.

The horizon in the project of these units is to own their own homes, to achieve the highest possible level of schooling for their children, who it is hoped will obtain university degrees, social security ensuring some economic security in old age, and a gradual improvement of household fixtures and fittings. It is highly probable that the children, both boys and girls, will in turn form family units which are the same as, or very similar to, those from which they come.

Although reproductive domestic work is relatively light due to the possession of consumer durables and domestic appliances, and in some cases the woman may even be helped by paid domestic assistance, it is nonetheless routine. If she works away from the home either permanently or during full days, she usually calls on the help of relatives (mother or sister) to care for the children.

As was pointed out above, the regular working hours of this type of family unit allows more frequent contact between parents and children. In any event, here again there is some form of specialization of activities according to the sex of the parents. It is the mother who helps with school work and with whom the children can talk freely on any topic. The father is usually a more aloof figure, more connected with the family's external relationships than with its internal life. Thus the sexual stereotypes tend to survive, despite the weak real basis for them in the family's living conditions.

Broadly speaking, the children of these families have an acceptable level of nutrition and, in good time, catch the normal succession of childhood illnesses. The infant mortality rate is low. It is unusual for children from such families to be abandoned, beggars or delinquents. Their access to the formal educational system is relatively normal and they remain at school as long as their personal abilities or the family's economic situation permit. As a rule, they complete their secondary education. If the family's economic situation only allows for some children to go to university, preference will be given to the male children.

The training they thus receive fits them for jobs similar to those of their family of origin. If they obtain a university degree they will have difficulties in professional life due to the lack of suitable social relations on the part of their original family units and the necessity of participating in a world whose norms of conduct and values they do not know.

(f) The situation of the family in the Caribbean

It is impossible to give a brief summary of the many family forms coexisting in the Caribbean, whose origins lie in the relationship between the different islands and the various central countries which colonized them, the different types of agriculture implanted, the successive waves of immigration designed to solve the problem of the shortage of labour under different legal forms (African slaves; contractual European, Chinese, Javanese and Indian labourers; Amerindian, Portuguese and Jewish immigrants) and emigration, which all affect the different social groups to varying degrees.

The abolition of slavery did not signify the real disappearance of the plantation system, which in fact survived in many districts as a result of bonded labour, compulsory servitude while paying off indebtedness and other forms of wage-earning labour which were formally free but were in fact linked with forms of slavery, in economies without many employment opportunities outside the plantations. This situation gave rise to seasonal work patterns which have affected family organization.

In this context it is easy to understand that the land has more of a social and mythical than an economic value. During slavery, the land represented social status. During emancipation, land was a symbol of and indeed the realization of

freedom. At present, it is the place where one's forefathers are buried, and also the only source of security for the relationship between husband, wife and children.

There are at least three types of land tenure in the case of smallholdings. One is the family plot, inherited from one's forefathers, owned by and handed down to the entire family, and held in trust by one member of the family. This land is inalienable, and family members have the right to claim their part of the harvests even when they reside in the city, and to return to live on the family land even when they have been absent for many years. Another form is the land purchased by a man or a women which is theoretically not subject to any restriction as regards sale or transmission. In practice it is handed down to all the children or to one of them, and thus after one or two generations a third form arises; inherited land which is not family land but which in one or two generations begins to take on the character of family land. Since in common law both bilateral or unilateral descendants inherit property without discrimination by sex or primogeniture, the process of individual division is accelerated when siblings own the land jointly and their children all inherit it.

In the great cultural mosaic of the Caribbean, there are common features which characterize the rural and urban lower-class Creole family of the English-speaking Caribbean. However, it should be borne in mind that these are societies in which social stratification is based on wealth, education and colour, with a long history of slavery in colonies whose metropolitan countries had different languages, religions and social structures, and with a variety of different constituent populations; consequently the rural and urban lower-class Creole family organization described below is one of many coexisting forms of family organization. Nevertheless, it seems to have sufficient strength to have spread to other lower-class ethnic groups, including those with a strong and very different religious basis, such as the Indians.

The patterns of unions have a typical sequence. A young man begins to visit a young woman at her home. The latter's family, willingly or unwillingly, often brings up the children of these visiting unions, while the mother goes into domestic work in the city. After one or more of these visiting relationships, the couple without any ceremony form a consensual union known as a "keeper union",

"common-law marriage" or "faithful concubinage". It is frequently the woman who owns or rents the home and the household includes her children by earlier relationships. These consensual unions tend to be lasting. Formal marriage may be the culmination of such unions, but often does not take place until quite late, when the couple have become grandparents or there is a danger of death. In any case, formal marriage is postponed until the man can pay for building or buying a house, and is capable of keeping a woman so that she no longer needs to work away from home. Thus formal marriage is a proof of social, economic and personal maturity.

The material conditions (infrastructure services, housing, nutrition, etc.) of these unions are no different from those of the poorer strata in the rest of the region, although perhaps particularly associated with employment problems. The emigration of the young men, primarily to other countries, in search of jobs and incomes is reflected in the low number of men, which paves the way for the sequence of unions described above and the family organization centred on the woman.

Children are viewed as a blessing and a proof of virility, which, given the pattern of unions described above, leads to a high number of children per woman. Illegitimacy is frequent but not shameful, and the situation is often remedied by the subsequent marriage of the parents. In addition, since the sequence of unions is normally accepted in social life, there is no judgement of illegitimacy based on the identification of the family with marriage and of kinship or family with conjugal relations.

Men and women spend little time together away from work. The relations between parents and children, and particularly between mothers and children, are more durable than relations between marital companions. Young men continue to depend on their mothers until 20 or 30 years of age, and in some communities do not think of forming a consensual union while their mothers are still in a position to care for them. The husband and father has complete authority in the home; the consensual unions tend to be more egalitarian than the legal marriages. The woman can always rely on the support of her children. The man can count on them only if he regularizes his situation with the woman.

In the consensual unions women are independent agents and take the important decisions regarding the children, jobs, etc., supported by their own relations. The relations on the husband's side play a smaller part.

Many of the children are brought up by women; mothers who look after their children without regular male support, grandmothers who bring up their daughters' children, legal or consensual spouses whose husbands are temporarily or permanently absent. It is accepted that bringing up children involves physical punishment.

It is also accepted that the man should give proof of his authority over the woman, which does not exclude the use of physical punishment. As regards the sexes, there is clearly a double standard: girls must be virgins, boys sexually adventurous; women must be monogamous, while husbands are free to have a number of unions. The droit du seigneur is still in force in gaining employment or promotion.

C. POLICY GUIDELINES

1. Differences in priorities according to family situations

The different family situations are associated with different forms of internal organization of the unit for social production and the reproduction of agents, the division of work among its members, the distribution of resources and the relationships of the unit and of its members with society. Obviously, each family situation, and the ensuing life strategy adopted by the unit to achieve its goals, establishes different needs and thus different priorities for the policies designed to remedy this situation. To establish these priorities and define the corresponding policies calls for an understanding of the causes of the situation, its consequences for the unit and each of its members and the possibilities of action to change it.

Thus the policy priorities of the family of the small agricultural producer, for example, would be different from those defined by the family unit of the agricultural labourer. In the first case, top priority would be attached to measures to formalize unions, regulate inheritance practices or provide women with the right to own land, all of which are measures aimed at avoiding the formation of minifundios and, ultimately, the disappearance of the family unit. In the second case, priority in policy and action would probably be attached to improving the housing conditions

of the families or increasing the capacity of women to act as household heads.

It may readily be seen then, that only a suitable understanding of the family unit and its elements and relationships will make it possible to identify possible action and policy priorities both for the family as a unit (i.e., the family organization) and for its members (women, children).

2. Basic information for policies

Whether the family is viewed as a policy target group or a strategic group for policies, the information needed will consist of both quantitative data and information on relationships.

The sources of quantitative information are basically the censuses and household surveys. It should be borne in mind, however, that these sources gather data on individuals which must be reprocessed in such a way as to enable the latter to be linked with the family units to which they belong. Along these lines, a start has been made at keeping family unit records. If such records become available, it would be possible to analyse the structure, composition and number of members of the family, by sex, age, education, on the basis of the characteristics of the heads of the unit (occupation, education, income) and of the units themselves (area of residence, type of housing, infraestructure services).

The sources of information on the internal and external relationships of the family unit may be specially designed surveys or else the anthropological research methods used to discover the specific rationale underlying the relationships analysed.

In any case, it must be stressed that both these types of information are necessary in order to grasp the features of the family as organizational units, and that once a type of action has been decided upon, the family units whose situation is to be altered should be included in all stages of programme design and implementation.

3. Some considerations on policies aimed at lower strata families or their members (children, women)

Policies designed to improve the housing, educational, health or nutritional conditions and reduce numbers of children, whether global or specifically destined for the lower strata, have been analysed most thoroughly; a number of studies exist on their effects, possibilities and limitations. On the other hand, little or no attention has been paid to the policies designed to affect the family organization of the society, meaning the family life cycle

(ways in which couples are formed, formalization, duration and stability of unions), the conditions of each stage in that cycle for the different members of the unit and the relationships among those members and between them and the unit and the global society. Some of the problems which must be taken into account in these policies refer to the situation of women who are de facto virtual slaves engaged in domestic work, some other job which allows them a small income, and reproduction; the situation of men, who have failed as economic providers for their families, which is the role society allocates to them, and who are confined within the limits of machismo; the situation of the children, who work from an early age, and are brought up in these conditions.

The policies designed to affect family organization should take into account that the goal is to maintain or modify relationships (husband-wife, parents-children, nuclear family-kinship network, family unit-global society), which calls for not only the relevant information but also the conceptual framework for understanding the different forms of organization, their meaning in a specific situation and the connexions between the organization of relationships and the context in which they occur. In any case, a national policy on the family must take account of a wide variety of situations.

Some examples of policies will serve as an illustration of the problems which must be considered when attempting to alter the family organization of the lower strata:

(a) Raising the age of unions. It is implicitly assumed that the age at which unions are formed depends on the voluntary and rational decision of the individuals concerned, without clearly recognizing that, since it is a generalized and socially regulated form of behaviour it must in some way be a means of satisfying emotional and sexual needs and of organizing life strategies. In raising the age of the first union, the goal is a better socialization of the children who will be brought up by more stable couples since they will have formed their union at a more mature age; a smaller number of children, by reducing the time available for pregnancy, which will in turn lighten the domestic burden of women; and more time for the couple to dedicate themselves to training or, in the case of the women, to paid work.

These proposals, however, barely stand up to a comparison with the facts, particularly when dealing with the poorer sectors of the population. While it may be possible to accept a direct relationship between age and personal maturity, the relationship between the age of the first union and its stability is not as clear, and still

less the relationship between the stability of the union and the better socialization of the children. Again, there is not a clear relationship between the age of the first union and the number of children in sectors of the population where more or less free and early sexual relations go hand in hand with ignorance of and/or lack of access to contraceptive methods. Finally, the poor sectors of the population have a marginal participation in the educational system and in the job market, and therefore raising the age of the first union will not have any significant effect. The imposition of a minimum age for marriage and the raising of educational requirements for getting work are, in themselves, measures of little or no effectiveness in relation to the poor.

(b) Formalization of unions. These policies are based on the assumption that formal unions establish more precisely the rights and duties of the couple and their children, which should lead to more stable unions, responsible parenthood, a better situation for women and children, and lower illegitimacy rates. The measures taken for this purpose, such as preference in the granting of credit, housing, free meals for children, etc., to formal unions are in themselves, and in the best of cases, only relatively effective. The union is formalized but continues to be governed by the prevailing norms and customs which establish the obligations and duties of the parties. In addition, the effectiveness of the measures is affected by the fact that the poor do not have the money to formalize their unions, are not aware that they can do so free of charge or do not possess the necessary administrative and police documents (birth certificates, identity cards, etc.). Finally, many poor people do not have access to the services from which they would receive preferential treatment even if their union were in fact formalized.

(c) Stability of unions. It is assumed that stability would make it possible to reduce the number of children per woman, since women tend to have children from each new union; improve the socialization of children by the greater permanence of both parents and the mutual accomodation between them as the result of more lengthy mutual dependence; and avoid the possible conflicts arising from the existence of children from successive unions. The instability of unions as a social pattern and widespread form of behaviour tends to occur in social sectors where the man does not have stable work relatively close to home and with an adequate income, and where the woman depends on the presence of a man to support her and her children and/or for reasons of security and social status. Consequently, to achieve a greater stability of unions in the poor sectors it would seem more effective to attack the causes of these

circumstances than to take educational or legal measures establishing the equality of the partners during unions or at the time of their dissolution, or the impossibility of formalizing new unions.

(d) Reduction of illegitimacy rates. These policies are related to those aimed at formalizing unions and at avoiding the problem of unmarried mothers, multiple unions or informal polygamy. Their aim is to establish paternity exactly, in order to ensure that responsibilities as concerns inheritance rights are fulfilled. These policies are of doubtful effectiveness when those responsibilities are difficult to fulfil and still more to enforce legally, or when the legislation governing inheritance differs from entrenched custom, or when there is nothing to bequeath.

(e) The situation of women. These policies may be implemented in a variety of sectors (education, health, housing, etc.) through a wide variety of measures, as may be seen from the world and regional plans of action drawn up for this purpose. The objectives of these policies may range from the elimination of sexual discrimination in the educational and economic spheres to the recognition and social valuation of the activities undertaken by women and to political participation. Some measures aimed exclusively or primarily at women (mother and child care, training in the making and marketing of handicrafts, etc.) may be beneficial to them and their families as well, and can be implemented more or less independently of family living conditions. On the other hand, other measures will be relatively ineffective unless they take into account both these living conditions and the possibilities of tackling them with the national resources available. For example, policies aimed at raising educational levels imply that the family must possess sufficient income to allow the children to enrol and remain in the school system, as well as the possibility that a woman should have some free time. Given job market conditions and domestic responsibilities, which are a heavy burden because of the lack of specific goods and infrastructure services, it is unlikely that poor families will be in a position to meet these minimal requirements. Consequently, any policy designed to improve the situation of poor women and integrate them into the development process must take into account the fact that their lives are inseparably linked with the living conditions of their families and the responsibilities whithin the family which society attributes to them.

(f) The situation of children. For emotional reasons as well as because of their implications for the future, these policies are the most likely to receive support, particularly in the case of policies aimed at achieving suitable levels of nutrition, education and health. The

effectiveness of these policies depends on whether families prevent their children from having access to these services because of their need for the children's contribution to income or domestic work, and whether the services manage to cover those children who are left to their own fate,or are vagrants or beggars because of the failure or absence of their parents.

(g) Husband-wife relations. These policies have little probability of success in the case of poor couples around the age of thirty who have a number of children. The group which such policies should address are primarily adolescents and new couples. However, their results are doubtful, since they are usually based on educational measures, while there is no change in the structural framework which determines the time the partners spend together, the minimum privacy for sexual relations or interpersonal communication, the separation of sexual roles which defines relatively isolated spheres of decision and activity.

These structural conditions should also be taken into account in policies aimed at improving the relations between parents and children. The pattern of an absent father whose status has been devalued, an intropunitive mother and a large number of children appears to be frequent in poor families. Attention has repeatedly been drawn to its consequences for the socialization of the children, and the existence of violent and illegitimate domination in the family which lead to a dissociation of power from morality, and lack of communication between generations. These aspects do not depend merely on individual characteristics, but are deeply rooted in the living conditions of the family.

(h) Connexions with the global society. These policies are designed to improve the access of poor families (as families) to different classes of goods and services (housing, health, infrastructure services, etc.) In policies of this kind, the nature of relations between the families and the administrative bodies is of great importance. Aspects of these relations which should be taken into account include: (i) the organization of the beneficiary group, since the policy approach may be through individual family units or through the organization of families in local associations (community or neighbourhood associations) to structure their demands and combine their resources; (ii) the duration of the policy, which may be a specific action (delivery of food or medicine), periodic action (visiting dispensaries or social workers on a regular basis) or continuous action aimed at establishing stable links between the families or local associations and the public services; (iii) the flexibility of policies, which may provide a specific good or service in a fixed manner, or respond in

some way to the needs of families, or involve the active participation of the local family associations in their formulation and implementation. The choice of one approach or the other will have direct consequences on the mobilization and participation of the families and their members in society, and determine the organizational model to be implemented, which may range from static (specific, rigid policies vis-a-vis individual families) to mobilizing policies (continuous, flexible policies vis-a-vis family associations), or a wide range of intermediate combinations of policies.

4. A minimum core of measures

Bearing in mind the concrete cases described in part B, section 3, and the review of various policies in the preceding section, it may be suggested that a policy designed to improve the situation of poor families should consist of the following minimum core of activities:

(a) The provision of stable employment, with an adequate minimum income and a place of work close to the family unit, for the head of the household (male or female). The adequate minimum income at least reduces the need for other members of the family, particularly children, to enter the job market early and with insufficient skills, at the same time dropping out of the educational system. Stability of employment helps in this regard. Work close to the family unit avoids the need for migrancy, with its sequel of fatherless households.

(b) Programmes of health, housing, education and basic infrastructure services (electricity, water, etc.). These improve the living conditions of all members of the family, but particularly women, since they enormously lighten the burden of domestic work and open up possibilities of their understaking a series of activities in other areas of social life (education, work, etc.).

(c) Programmes of mass family education, specially designed to raise the level of information and communication of the members of nuclear units and to combat sexual stereotypes. Such programmes are specially aimed at young people, beginning with primary education. In addition to serving their own purpose, these programmes reinforce the effect of the policies mentioned above and, over the long term, influence family relationships.

(d) Programmes to organize families in neighbourhood or community associations, in order to enable them to present their demands in a structured manner to the various State services, and to enable the latter to find useful intermediaries among the population, while encouraging the participation of women in these associations.

(e) Adoption of legislative measures to support the objectives of the above programmes.

This core of measures is considered a minimum because the lack of any one of them would leave intact the economic limitations which condition the family organization of the poor, or the normative and ideological components of that organization, or their particular form of connexion with the global society, as has repeatedly been recognized.

In addition, however, it is considered a minimum because the governments of the region are, to a greater or lesser extent, implementing policies in almost all the above directions and allocating human and financial resources for those purposes. The creation of a ministry (or a similar-level body) for the family, with special departments dealing with the status of women, children and young people, responsible for research, information, co-ordination, and the formulation and execution of policies, would not call for an undue amount of new financing and might be useful to co-ordinate and increase the rationality of activities by integrating them and avoiding duplication of efforts. Co-ordination of this kind would also allow a better use of international assistance, although it remains important to insist that the different bodies providing technical or financial assistance should increase their mutual co-operation and co-ordination.

5. How to secure the participation of the groups at which the policies are aimed

The decision to do something on behalf of poor families or certain categories of their members (women, children) leaves the problem of what to do and how to secure the participation of the groups concerned.

A series of questions must be asked as to whether poor families perceive their problems and the implications of those problems for their members and for society. If they do perceive that problems exist, it remains to be seen what those problems actually are. Then it must be determined whether the problems perceived are the same as those defined in the studies by economists, sociologists, planners or decision-makers.

It will become relatively easier to act only when the problems perceived by the family units coincide with the problems defined as such by the corresponding official bodies.

However, bearing in mind the particular situations described above, it would appear that any attempt to design a uniform national policy

should be rejected out of hand; even if the objectives are the same, the necessary action will differ in the various situations of the family unit.

Isolated, specific measures and programmes designed to improve the situation of families, children and women are better than nothing, but they will only be fully effective if they are validly integrated into local, regional and national development plans.

The creation of machinery allowing for unhampered communication between planners or policy-makers and the population at the various stages of the formulation, execution and evaluation of plans or policies is an essential measure to avoid any impression of manipulation and achieve a modicum of effectiveness in action. However, communication of this kind would appear to be a rather distant target, given the styles of development which predominate in the region.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE FAMILY AND WOMEN

ALBO, Javier and MAMANI, Mauricio
Esposos, suegros y padrinos entre los aymaras. La Paz, CIPCA, 1976, 2nd. ed.

ARGUELLO, Omar
Pobreza, población y desarrollo. Las familias pobres en Costa Rica. Santiago, CELADE, 1977.

ARRIAGADA, Irma
Las mujeres pobres latinoamericanas: un esbozo de tipología. Santiago, CEPAL/ Borrador/DS/162, April 1977, mimeo.

BORSOTTI, Carlos Alberto
La familia pobre rural y urbana como grupo focal de políticas. In: "La pobreza crítica en América Latina. Ensayos sobre diagnósticos, explicación y políticas". Santiago, ILPES, 1977, mimeo, pp.534-575.

BORSOTTI, Carlos Alberto
Notas sobre la familia como unidad socioeconómica. In: "Cuadernos de la CEPAL", Santiago, CEPAL, 1978.

BORSOTTI, Carlos Alberto
Situación de la mujer y desarrollo: acotaciones. In: COVARRUBIAS, Paz and FRANCO, Rolando (compilers): "Chile: mujer y sociedad", Santiago, UNICEF, 1978.

BUECHLER, Hans C. and BUECHLER, Judit-María
The Bolivian Aymara. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

BURCH, Thomas, LIRA, Luis Felipe and LOPES, Valdecir
La familia como unidad de estudio demográfico. San José, CELADE, 1976.

CELADE
Políticas de población y familia, el caso latinoamericano. Series A, N°24, Santiago, CELADE, May 1974.

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE POBLACION Y FAMILIA
Condicionamientos socioculturales de la fecundidad en Bolivia. S.L., Centro de Estudios de Población y Familia, 1967, 1969.

CENTRO DE INVESTIGACION Y DESARROLLO DE LA EDUCACION (CIDE)
Proyecto piloto "Toda la familia enseña y aprende" en comunidades campesinas del área de la costa. Osorno, Chile, CIDE, 1977.

CEPAL/FAO
Desarrollo social rural en América Latina. CEPAL/FAO Technical Meeting on Rural Social Development in Latin America. Santiago, CEPAL/FAO/78/2, June 1978.

CHINCHILLA, Norma
Familia, economía y trabajo de la mujer en Guatemala. Primer Simposio Mexicano-Centroamericano de Investigación sobre la Mujer, Mexico City, 1977.

CLARKE, Colin
Kingston, Jamaica. Urban development and social change 1692-1962. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975.

CLARKE, Edith
Land tenure and the family in four selected communities in Jamaica. In: "Social and Economic Studies", Vol.1, N°4, August 1973, pp.81-118.

CLARKE, Edith
The mother who fathered me: a study of the family in three selected communities in Jamaica. London, George Allen and Unwin, 1957, 2nd edition.

CUBA, República de
Ley de la maternidad de la trabajadora. Ley N°1263 del 14 de enero de 1974. La Habana, Orbe, 1975.

DAVIDS, Leo
The East Indian family overseas. In: "Social and Economic Studies", Vol.13, N°3, September 1964, pp.383-396.

DOOKHAN, Isaac
A pre-emancipation history of the West Indies. London, Collins, 1971.

DUQUE, Joaquín and PASTRANA, Ernesto
Las estrategias de supervivencia económica de las unidades familiares del sector popular urbano: una investigación exploratoria. Santiago, PROELCE, 1973.

FIGUEROA, Adolfo
La economía rural de la sierra peruana. Working Group on Income Distribution in Latin America. CLACSO Working Group on Income Distribution. Corporación de investigaciones económicas para Latinoamérica. Santiago, Chile, 22-24 June 1977, mimeo, 35 pages.

FUCARACCIO, Angel
El trabajo femenino en Bolivia. Un estudio de caso. Santiago, CELADE, 1974, mimeo.

GARRET, Patricia M.
Some structural constraints on the agricultural activities of women: the Chilean hacienda. Conference on Women and Development, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., June 1976.

GUTIERREZ DE PINEDA, Virginia, et.al.
El Gamín. Su albergue social y su familia. Bogotá ICBF and UNICEF, 1978.

HODGE, Merle
Young women and the development of stable family in the Caribbean. In: SAVACOU, - A journal of the Caribbean artists movement. Kingston, N°13, Gemeni, 1977, pp.39-44.

LEONARD, Olen E.
El cambio económico y social en cuatro comunidades del altiplano de Bolivia. Mexico, Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1977.

LIRA, Luis Felipe
Estructura familiar, población y fecundidad en América Latina: Análisis de algunos estudios. In: "Notas de Población", San José, CELADE, Vol.V, 13, April 1977, pp.9-50.

LOMNITZ, Larissa A. de
Cómo sobreviven los marginados. Siglo XXI Editores S.A., 3rd. ed., Mexico, 1978.

LOWENTHAL, David
West Indian Societies, London, Oxford University Press, 1972.

MACDONALD, John Stuart
Family-household structure and agricultural organization in the Southern Caribbean. In: "International Population Conference", London, 1961. Liege, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 1971, May III, pp.2234-2243.

MACHADO, Zahide
Mulher: Dimençao da Existencia - Dimençao da Sobrevivencia (un estudo de caso com mulheres faveladas). Primer Simposio Mexicano-Centroamericano de Investigación sobre la Mujer, Mexico City, 1977.

MARTINE, George
Formación de la familia y marginalidad urbana en Río de Janeiro, Santiago, CELADE, 1975.

MENCIAS CHAVEZ, Jorge
Riobamba (Ecuador). Estudio de la elevación sociocultural y religiosa del indio. Madrid, feres, 1962.

MICHELWAIT, Donald R., RIEGELMAN, Mary Anne, SWEET, Charles F.
Woman in Rural Development. A survey of the Roles of Women in Ghana, Lesotho, Kenya, Nigeria, Bolivia, Paraguay and Peru. U.S.A., Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, and Development Alternatives, Inc., 1976.

MINISTRY OF PLANNING AND CO-ORDINATION OF BOLIVIA AND UNICEF
La problemática de la mujer en áreas marginalizadas de la ciudad de La Paz. Dirección de Planificación Social Global. La Paz, 1978.

MINISTRY OF THE ECONOMY AND AGRICULTURE OF URUGUAY
Situación económica social del Uruguay rural. Centro Latinoamericano de Economía Humana, Uruguay, 1962.

MONTAÑO, Jorge
Los pobres de la ciudad en los asentamientos espontáneos. Siglo XXI editores S.A., 1976.

MOXLEY, Robert L.
Family solidarity and quality of life in an agricultural Peruvian community. In: "Journal of Marriage and the Family", Vol.35, N°3, August 1973, pp.497-504.

ROBERTS, G.W. and L. BRAITHWAITE
Mating among East Indian and Non-Indian women in Trinidad. In: "Social and Economic Studies", Vol.22, N°3, September 1962, pp.203-240.

SANDERS, Andrew
Family structure and domestic organization among coastal Amerindians in Guyana. In: "Social and Economic Studies", Vol.22, N°4, December 1973, pp.440-478.

SIMPSON, George Baton
Sexual and familiar institutions in Northern Haiti. In: LEONARD, Olen E. and Charles P. LOOMIS: Readings in Latin American Social Organizations and Institutions. Michigan, Michigan State College Press, 1953, pp.28-36.

SINGER, Hans
Los niños en la estrategia para el desarrollo. Centro de Información Económica y Social de Naciones Unidas and UNICEF, New York, 1972.

SMITH, M.G.
A survey of West Indian family studies. In: COMITAS, Lambros and LOWENTHAL, David, "Work and Family Life. West Indian Perspectives", New York, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1973, pp.365-408.

TORRADO, Susana
Algunas reflexiones sobre los censos de 1980 en la perspectiva de la investigación socio-demográfica y las políticas de población en América Latina. Santiago, CELADE, April 1977.

TORRES ADRIAN, Mario J.
Formas de adaptación económica de la población en las comunidades campesinas del Perú: un análisis contextual. Sixth meeting of the Working Group on Internal Migrations of the CLACSO Population and Development Commission. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Lima, July 1977.

UNICEF

Planning with rural women. In: Les Carnets de l'enfance Assignment Children, N°38, April-June 1977.

UNICEF

Servicios de apoyo: mecanismos para la incorporación de la mujer al desarrollo. Santiago, 1976.

III. SOME TYPES OF POOR WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

Introduction

Since International Women's Year and during the subsequent United Nations Decade for Women, there has been a proliferation of studies on the situation of women in the world. Some of these studies have tried to cover the wide range of phenomena of discrimination which affect women, but latterly attention has centred on certain topics such as education, employment and income. This new orientation has meant that the analyses are increasingly objective and measurable and also make it possible to consider women in the context of their respective social strata and appreciate the diversity and complexity of such strata.

In this work it is proposed, in addition to examining some background details about the aspects of Latin American women in question, to formulate a typology which will take account not only of their differential characteristics in comparison with men but also the social aspects underlying sexual differences, and to describe the characteristics of women from the lower occupational strata.

A. THE EDUCATIONAL, OCCUPATIONAL AND INCOME SITUATION OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

Reference has been made to the improvement of the level of education of women during the present decade in Latin America. In spite of this, however, the differences between male and female educational levels have tended to persist, and it is only from 1970 onwards that efforts have been made to reduce the distance between men and women in this respect.

The UNESCO figures regarding school enrollment in Latin America at the basic, secondary and higher educational levels show the trend in this respect for the period 1960-1975 (see table 1).

It can be seen from this table that the greatest increase during the decade was in enrollment in higher education, especially from 1970 onwards, when enrollment of women was three times the figure for 1960. Even so, female enrollment at this level in 1970 was still only 37% of the total students enrolled. At the primary level the indexes of

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA: INDEX OF GROWTH OF ENROLMENT BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX, 1960-1975

(1960 = 100)

Year	Total		Level 1		Level 2		Level 3	
	Both sexes	Women	Both sexes	Women	Both sexes	Women	Both sexes	Women
1960	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1965	155	156	129	130	167	170	160	174
1970	169	171	156	154	265	270	287	340
1975	213	216	214	218	301	307	626	854

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1974.

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENTS
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX, 1960-1975

Year	Total enrolment				Enrolment of women			
	Total	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Total	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
1960	100.0	85.1	13.1	1.8	100.0	86.0	12.9	1.1
1965	100.0	81.6	16.2	2.2	100.0	82.4	16.1	1.5
1970	100.0	76.7	20.3	3.1	100.0	77.6	20.5	2.9
1975	100.0	78.2	16.8	4.9	100.0	79.1	16.7	4.1

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1977.

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA: TOTAL ENROLMENT OF WOMEN AND ENROLMENT
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVELS, 1960-1975

(Percentages)

Year	Total	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
1960	48	49	47	30
1965	48	49	48	33
1970	48	49	48	35
1975	48	49	48	41

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1977.

growth of female enrollment were almost equal to those for men (see tables 2 and 3).

The greatest pressure for gaining access to education has been at the secondary and higher educational levels, and the middle sectors have been those most favoured by the expansion of the educational system.

At the same time, however, in spite of the increase in enrollment, the orientation of higher education for women has not varied substantially during the decade. Women continue to choose courses which are simply an extension of female roles in the household and are characterized by being of shorter duration and hence less costly. 1/

Another interesting aspect is that the expansion of education has reached sectors which subsequently will either not enter the labour force or will not remain in it for long. In this way, the social reproduction role of education has been intensified, i.e., sex divisions in employment and discrimination against women in society have been maintained, 2/ since this "educated" sector will mainly carry out the traditional functions of mothers and wives.

It is evident that the educational dimension displays greater elasticity in the face of social pressures than employment or income. Education is the social good which is "cheapest" to distribute without adversely affecting the stability of the basic social institutions and the prevailing order. In purely economic terms, for example, it costs less to expand basic education than to set up industries which will offer adequate employment opportunities, and it is even more difficult to secure a more equitable distribution of income.

Moreover, in certain cases such as those of many professional women, for example, even when higher educational qualifications have been obtained they are not used continuously and to the full. For men, in contrast, greater access to education is reflected in an increase in the educational qualifications required to gain the same jobs.

Female participation in the labour force has increased

1/ The courses preferred by Latin American women are liberal arts, education and nursing. See table 1 in Marshall Wolfe's paper "La participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina", in CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1975, pp. 16-17.

2/ M. Teresita de Barbieri, "La condición de la mujer en América Latina: Su participación social: Antecedentes y situación actual" in CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina, op. cit.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, 1960

Country	Year	Total	Men	Women
Argentina	1960	37.6	58.8	16.4
Bolivia a/	1950	50.3	58.8	42.2
Brazil a/b/	1960	32.3	53.1	11.5
Colombia	1964	29.4	47.6	11.6
Costa Rica	1963	29.6	49.5	9.6
Cuba	1953	33.8	57.3	9.0
Chile	1960	32.4	52.3	14.2
Ecuador a/	1962	32.3	54.0	10.5
El Salvador	1961	32.1	53.6	11.3
Guatemala b/	1964	31.3	54.6	7.9
Haiti	1950	56.4	59.2	53.8c/
Honduras	1961	30.1	52.7	7.7
Mexico	1960	32.4	53.4	11.6
Nicaragua	1963	30.9	50.0	12.3
Panama a/	1960	33.3	51.4	14.5
Paraguay a/	1962	32.2	50.7	14.4
Peru a/	1961	31.5	49.6	13.6
Dominican Republic b/	1960	26.9	47.7	5.9
Uruguay	1963	39.0	58.9	19.3
Venezuela	1961	31.3	50.5	11.4

Source: International Labour Organisation (ILO), 1970.

a/ Excluding indigenous population in the jungle.

b/ Sample of census bulletins.

c/ These data clearly show over-representation of the female share in the population.

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA: ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION BY SEX, 1970

Country	Year	Total	Men	Women
Argentina a/	1970	38.5	57.9	19.4
Brazil b/	1970	38.5	58.7	25.6
Colombia b/	1970	29.5	44.0	15.4
Costa Rica	1973	31.5	50.3	12.1
Cuba c/d/	1970	30.8	49.2	11.5
Chile a/	1970	29.5	46.4	13.3
Ecuador e/	1974	31.5	49.8	13.2
El Salvador	1971	37.0	53.8	21.5
Guatemala a/	1973	29.9	51.4	8.2
Haiti d/	1971	56.0	57.6	54.5g/
Honduras d/	1974	28.0	-	-
Mexico g/	1974	27.4	43.0	11.6
Nicaragua a/	1971	26.6	42.4	11.4
Panama	1970	34.2	50.2	17.8
Paraguay a/	1972	32.1	50.8	13.6
Peru a/	1972	28.6	45.3	11.8
Dominican Republic a/	1970	31.0	46.1	15.9
Uruguay	1963	39.0	58.9	19.3
Venezuela	1971	26.1	43.7	13.6

Source: International Labour Organisation (ILO), Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1975.

a/ Sample of census bulletins.
b/ Estimates based on household surveys.
c/ Excluding domestic servants.
d/ Provisional.
e/ Excluding indigenous population in the jungle.
f/ These data clearly show over-representation of the female share in the population.
g/ Official estimates.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in Latin America in recent decades 3/ (see tables 4 and 5), thus helping to secure greater economic development. Various studies have shown the importance of education in the decision to enter the labour market, 4/ so it is easy to see that the more educated female population has the greatest participation in this market.

Although the educational level of the female population as a whole is below that of the male population, the situation is reversed in the case of the economically active population, as may be seen from table 6.

This table gives grounds for assuming that, in order to win jobs in competition with the male population, women

---

3/ A woman with a university education has three times as many chances of being employed as a woman with less than four years of primary education, according to Sylvana Sada Maccan and Michael Bamberger, "Employment and the Status of Women in Venezuela" in Development Digest, Vol. XIII, N°3, July 1975.

4/ Demographic studies have paid preferential attention to the factors determining the entry of women into the labour market, with particular reference to the influence of age, marital status and number of children. See in this respect Victor Gómez, Argentina Costa Rica, México y Venezuela: Algunos resultados de las encuestas comparativas de fecundidad en América Latina relacionadas con la participación femenina en actividades económicas, CELADE, Santiago, Series C.N/145, 1972; Angel Fuccaracio, Desarrollo económico y social, participación de la fuerza de trabajo y fecundidad, research outline, CELADE, Santiago, 1973; María Eugenia Baltra, Participación de la mujer en actividades económicas en Chile (1960): Un análisis de las variables demográficas en particular la fecundidad, CELADE, Santiago, 1971; Aída Rodríguez y Susana Schkolnik, Chile y Guatemala: Factores que afectan la participación femenina en la actividad económica, CELADE, Santiago, 1974; Ana María Rothman, La participación femenina en actividades económicas en su relación con el nivel de fecundidad en Buenos Aires y México, CELADE,Santiago, 1967, and Juan Carlos Elizaga, "The participation of women in the labour force of Latin America: fertility and other factors", in International Labour Review, Vol. 89, Nos. 5 and 6, May-June 1974.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 6

LATIN AMERICA: (FIVE COUNTRIES) AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF THE MALE AND FEMALE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION, 1960-1970 a/

	Argentina		Chile		Mexico		Guatemala	Dominican Republic	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970	1970	1960	1970
Male EAP	4.9	6.9	4.7	5.6	2.5	3.3	1.9	2.6	
Female EAP	5.7	7.7	5.2	6.7	3.5	3.9	3.3	3.8	

Source: CEPAL/ELACHT, Project on Social Stratification and Mobility in Latin America, basic tables, Common Sampling Operation (CHOSCH).

a/ Whenever the whole of Latin America is not being considered, the phenomenon will continue to be illustrated with data from these five countries (insofar as information is available), since in one way or another they represent different styles of development in the region.

must have higher educational levels than those of men.5/ Most women do not even compete in the same labour market as men but rather in a parallel market, sometimes called the informal market, where they seek "women's" occupations. 6/ In partial corroboration of this assertion, it may be observed that in Latin America, the occupations which absorb the largest amount of female labour are those of the services sector, as shown in table 7.

Although the Latin American countries compared in the table have different development styles, there are no great differences as regards the percentages of the economically active population located in what has been called the lower strata of tertiary activities. The difference between the sexes in this respect is very marked and has not changed substantially during the decade, although the proportion of wage-earning women in this category has tended to go down very slightly.

5/ See in this connexion Gunvor Velagapudi, La mujer y el empleo en América Latina, PREALC, Santiago, Working Paper Nº99, June 1976.

6/ For Venezuela, the 1941, 1950 and 1961 censuses show that in each case at least 70% of women work in occupations in which they are over-represented In none of these censuses did they amount to more than 18.7% of the labour force, but in each case at least 60% of employed women were working in occupations in which women represented more than 76% of the labour force. See Maccan and Bamberger op.cit.

Table 7

LATIN AMERICA: MALE AND FEMALE WAGE-EARNERS IN THE LOWER OCCUPATIONAL STRATA OF TERTIARY ACTIVITIES, 1960-1970

(Percentages of total economically active population)

Country	1960		1970	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Argentina	24.4	3.8	25.0	3.6
Brazil	23.5	2.9	-	-
Costa Rica	40.2	2.8	37.5	5.2
Chile	39.2	4.1	30.2	3.5
Ecuador	23.7	2.1	-	-
El Salvador	35.6	1.4	a/	a/
Guatemala	35.7	1.3	34.4	1.9
Honduras	42.1	2.3	-	-
Mexico	29.2	3.7	14.7	2.5
Nicaragua	-	-	33.8	2.5
Panama	29.1	4.1	28.3	4.6
Paraguay	19.2	3.7	24.7	1.9
Peru	-	-	20.1	4.0
Dominican Republic	40.3	1.5	b/	b/
Uruguay	29.3	5.6	-	-

Source: CEPAL/UNICEF, Project on Social Stratification and Mobility in Latin America, basic tables. The information is based on standardized samples from censuses in the Census Sampling Operation (OMEDE).

a/ The category "others" covers 45% of women, so it was not considered.
b/ The category "others" covers 42% of the total, so it was not considered.

The statistical data also show an increasing proportion of women in the middle and upper strata, especially as self-employed professionals, employed professionals, technicians, saleswomen and the like.

The fact that over a third of the female economically active population remains in the lower strata and in the services sector, especially domestic service, is explained partly by the entry of the middle and upper sectors into the labour market. In order to be able to work, a woman from the middle or upper sector must free herself from her domestic tasks, so that the availability of domestic servants is one of the requisites for her entry into the labour market. 7/

7/ See Jorge Graciarena, La desigualdad sexual en sociedades de clase , in Mujeres en América Latina, op.cit.

It is interesting also to note the different wages received by men and women. It is generally agreed that women are discriminated against in this respect. 8/ Attempts are made to justify this difference by arguing that women are less trained, assume less responsibility in their jobs, work in smaller enterprises, are generally younger than male workers (because they leave the labour market when they have their first child), are grouped in a limited number of occupations, and actually work for a shorter time because of their domestic commitments.

To sum up, then, women would appear to work in occupations which are less attractive, more humdrum and less well paid. It should be borne in mind, however, that the employment of women in certain types of industries, such as the electronics and textile industries, is due not only to the fact that they represent cheap labour, but also to their special gifts for carrying out certain types of tasks. Even if we accept the reasoning of the employers, it would be necessary to make a more profound analysis of this reasoning, and in this respect we should bear in mind both the different class situations which are conditioning the education received and also the effects of socialization, the values of which highlight the positions of housewife and mother as suitable functions for women.

Perhaps the discussion would be more interesting if it were possible to distinguish between the effects caused by the demand and the supply of female labour. The supply would appear to be dictated by general factors such as the growth and age structure of the population, geographical location, family composition, socialization and values of both women and their family groups regarding female labour, and the level of income received by the family. It should be borne in mind that in the case of women from the lower strata there is a strong compulsion and need to enter the labour market when their family situation is unstable, as in the case of unmarried mothers, abandoned wives, widows, separated women, etc.

The demand for female labour, for its part, would appear to depend on the general development conditions and the structure of the economy. In this respect, it is suggested that in societies where agriculture is the basic economic sector, the share of women in the labour market is

---

8/ See Evelyne Sullerot, "Equality of remuneration for men and women in the member States of the EEC", in International Labour Review, Vol. 92, Nos 2 and 3, August-September 1975.

likely to be greater than in societies with a higher level of industrialization. 9/

The demand for female labour would also seem to be conditioned by the prevailing social legislation. It has been shown that greater protection (especially during pregnancy and nursing) or prohibition of certain types of work for women (such as night shifts) increase costs and discourage factory owners from hiring female labour, in view of women's lower productivity and their frequent absences from work due to domestic commitments.

Only in a few cases, however, has attention been paid to the class differences underlying the sex differences. 10/ An interesting study in this connexion is one carried out in Venezuela which indicates that education is one of the elements which should be taken most into account with regard to the income received. This study also indicates that the average wage of a woman with a university education is 6.9 times that of an uneducated woman, whereas the corresponding difference between men is only a factor of 3.7. The greater difference in the case of women must be due to the fact that, especially in the case of women from the lower strata, they enter the labour market al lower wages than men in the same situation. This state of affairs would seem likely to become more accentuated, since the occupations where women are employed have increased more, while the increase in wages (in absolute terms and in relation to men's wages) has been much smaller. 11/

If we consider only the case of domestic servants, we must bear in mind the difficulties they face in organizing themselves and forming trade unions which will enable them to

---

9/ See the discussion between Ester Boserup, "Women's Role in Economic Development" and Suellen Huntington, "Issues in Woman's Role in Economic Development: Critique and Alternatives" in Journal of Marriage and the Family, November 1975.

10/ This raises queries such as: To whom are women to be made equal: to men in general or to men of the same social class? See in this respect J. Graciarena, "La desigualdad...", op. cit.

11/ In the case of Venezuela, it was found both in 1961 and in 1971 that the average male income was 60% higher than the average female income. See Maccan and Bamberger, op. cit.

negotiate and exert some type of pressure in order to secure better wages and more favourable working conditions. The same is true of street vendors, among whom there is a large proportion of women. Moreover, the majority of working women from the lower strata are working mainly because of economic necessity rather than through a genuine desire to enter the labour force. This means that they are willing to accept any wage, no matter how low it may be. 12/

Unfortunately, the available information on income is scanty, of dubious reliability, and has not been broken down by sex. At all events, there is no doubt that women receive wages and salaries which are markedly below those of men and occupy posts of lower standing, although as we have seen in the case of the countries mentioned, their average educational levels are higher. 13/

In brief, then, the information presented shows the situation of working women in Latin America as regards education, occupation and income. A review of this information brings out the need for approaching the problem in terms of an analysis of social classes rather than as a function of sex discrimination. It seems necessary to study groups of women belonging to particular social classes, which display different living situations, forms of incorporation into the system of production, educational levels and ideologies, since there is no "Latin American woman" as a global, abstract entity, but only women in different specific situations, i.e., located in structures with different styles of development and belonging to different social classes. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to formulate a descriptive characterization of some typical social situations of poor women in Latin America.

12/ In Greater Santiago, the income of female heads of households is markedly below that of male heads of households, because they enter the labour market at a later stage and do so because of the death of or separation from their husbands or companions. See G. Rama and N. Schlaen, El estrato popular urbano, preliminary version, Social Development Division, CEPAL, July 1973.

13/ See Henry Kirsch, "La participación de la mujer en los mercados latinoamericanos" in Mujeres en América Latina, op. cit., especially table 2.

B. A TYPOLOGY OF POOR WOMEN

Up to now, no one has attempted to define exactly what is meant by poverty. Some studies have noted the difficulty in defining the poor, 14/ either because poverty 15/ is viewed from a consumerist perspective, as a specific situation, or because it is defined in relative terms, i.e., in the light of social inequalities. When poverty is considered as a situation, emphasis is placed on the existence of a group called "poor" who do not possess the resources to satisfy their basic needs. In contrast, the concept of poverty as a relative state means raising the question of social inequalities and the interdependence between groups which are poor and those which are not poor.

For the purpose of this paper, poor women will be considered as those belonging to the lower occupational strata, whether residing in the country or the city, whose place in the labour market is determined by their occupation and their occupational category. These are the most important variables which will be borne in mind. In this way, it is possible to come close to defining what may be called the class situation of poor women. In so far as information is available on education and income, these data will be incorporated as a means of describing each class situation.

One of the objectives of this paper which has already been referred to is that of separating and distinguishing between different situations of poor women. The most suitable way of doing this seems to be to construct a typology which will make it possible to show the internal variations of the group on the basis of two variables: their form of insertion in the labour market and their place of residence (urban or rural). We should not lose sight, however, of the fact that the resulting types are abstractions of a much richer reality and therefore to some extent distort the true characteristics. It should also be borne in mind that this typology will not cover all the possible types, but only those considered to be the most representative in numerical terms and the most frequently seen in the majority of countries of the region.

14/ See Marshall Wolfe, Poverty as a social phenomenon and as a central issue for development policy, CEPAL, May 1976, and Rolando Franco, Los problemas de la definición y mensura de la pobreza, ILPES, Santiago, November 1976.

15/ It has been noted that even the choice of the term "poverty" has an ideological background. See M. Wolfe, La pobreza ...., op. cit.

The layout of the properties in the typology would be as follows:

	Economic sector	Residence	
		Rural	Urban
Lower occupational strata of the activities indicated:	Not incorporated	1	2
	) - agricultural	3	4
	) - secondary	5	6
	) - tertiary	7	8

Crossing the two variables (economic sector and residence) gives eight possible types of poor women. In order to operationalize what we have called the lower occupational strata, we have considered as poor women wage earners, unpaid family workers and own-account workers in agriculture, stock-raising, fishing, mining and similar occupations, all of which make up the type of lower strata in primary activities. Women employed as drivers of means of transport, artisanal spinners, other types of craft workers, manual workers and female day workers correspond to the lower occupational strata in secondary activities. Finally, women employed in domestic and service jobs make up the lower occupational strata in tertiary activities.

There would also be two types of women of the poor strata who do not work and whose qualification as poor women would be defined by the occupational status of the husband. Such is the case of the majority of women who are theoretically of working age, since female participation in employment in 1975 only amounted to 19.6%, according to ILO estimates (see tables 4 and 5). 16/ Let us first of all analyse the case of rural housewives, who at first sight seem to offer a more homogeneous set of characteristics than those of urban housewives.

1. The rural housewife

This type is generally not found in its pure form, since the mothers, wives or daughters of peasants are also brought into agricultural work on a seasonal basis or

---

16/ According to ILO, Latin America is the region which shows the smallest percentage of female participation in employment, but it should be borne in mind that statistics for other regions such as Africa and Asia take into account domestic work and the agricultural activity of women. The over-representation of female labour in the courses has been extensively recognized in Latin America.

as what may be called an extension of household work. 17/ This covers such activities as taking care of small kitchen gardens grinding corn, fetching water from the well, and collecting firewood, fruit or herbs, all tasks which are carried out in addition to the household work proper and the work of bringing up the children.

For the most part, official surveys omit the productive work carried out by women in rural areas, treating it in most cases as domestic work of no economic value. 18/

The life and organization of household work of rural women who do not carry out social work would therefore depend on the place of the male head of the family (father, husband or son) in the productive system. Tentatively, the following categories may be distinguished: wage-earning agricultural labourer, smallholder, sharecropper on a big estate, bonded labourer, or, finally, a combination of the first two categories.

Moreover, they could be grouped according to whether they are part of what may be called a "traditional" system of land tenure or a "modern-capitalist system". 19/

17/ In this regard, it is important to take into account the difference between household work understood as that which is carried out in the dwelling unit for the consumption of its members or the maintenance of the unit, and social work, which is defined by exclusion as all kinds of work which are not household work. See Carlos Borsotti, "Notas sobre la familia como unidad socioeconómica", Revista Paraguaya de Sociología, Vol. 13, N°36, May-August 1976.

18/ For a discussion on the economic value of household work, see Elizabeth Jelin, "La bahiana en la fuerza de trabajo: actividad doméstica, producción simple y trabajo asalariado en Salvador, Brasil", in Demografía y Economía, N°24, Vol. VIII, 1974.

19/ This distinction is based on the fact that the long-term historical trend has been towards the growing monetization of productive activities and the progressive loss of importance of domestic production; there are no valuational overtones in the use of the terms "traditional" and "modern". See, in this connexion, CEPAL, Las transformaciones rurales en América Latina: ¿desarrollo social o marginación? Serie Cuadernos de la CEPAL, N°26, 1979.

Outstanding in the first group are the bonded labourers on large estates and the smallholders and, within the second group, the wage-earning agricultural labourers.

In the case of the bonded labourers and the smallholders, it may be assumed that the women sporadically carry out domestic work in the houses of the landowners and also take part in agricultural activities at times when the demand for labour is greatest, in view of the seasonal nature of the crops grown, i.e., during harvest time, the fruit harvesting period, the wine harvest, and so on.

In the second case, the wife or daughter of the wage-earner also takes part in productive agricultural labour, in the production of goods or in paid household work. The census information shows differences between countries, however, with regard to the participation of labour in the primary sector, and also in the case of women (see table 8).

From this information, it may be inferred that the majority of women who live in the country do not carry out a productive activity which is reflected in the census figures, and in this regard, it is perhaps right to refer to agriculture as a male productive activity. 20/

Bearing this situation in mind, no special account will be taken of the type of woman who lives in the country and works in the primary sector, although it should be noted that the total workload to which she is subjected is considerably greater (apart from her work in the fields, she also has to carry out her household tasks) and that the rudimentary nature of household facilities and fittings makes the execution of household tasks more difficult.

2. The female agricultural worker

The group of women of the lower strata working in the primary sector is numerically the smallest. They are generally own-account workers or unpaid family workers, the proportion of wage-earning women being very small (see table 9). Furthermore, they also have the lowest educational levels. In the countries selected, their average level of education did not bring them any higher than functional illiteracy, except in Argentina, where the level was equivalent to that of four years of schooling in 1970 (see table 10).

20/ See some criticisms of this concept in R. Iturra, B. Iturra and N. Tapia, Exploración sobre la situación de la mujer en la agricultura, Working Paper N°1, Centro de Estudios Agrarios y Campesinos, Universidad Católica de Chile, Sede Regional de Maule, Talca, July 1973. See also E. Jelin, op. cit.

Table 8

LATIN AMERICA (FIVE COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGES OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN THE PRIMARY SECTOR, 1970

	Argentina	Chile	Mexico	Dominican Republic	Guatemala
Percentage of total EAP	15.2	25.1	37.4	55.1	57.0
Percentage of total female EAP engaged in agriculture	3.8	3.8	7.5	4.5	7.2

Source: CEPAL/UNICEF, Project on Social Stratification and Mobility in Latin America, basic tables, Census Sampling Operation (OMUECE).

It should be stressed, especially in the case of rural women, that the consideration of women apart from their family unit may lead to errors. It is in the rural family that both the division and the complementarity of roles are seen most clearly, and the poor rural family is also a small production unit in which each member has well-defined functions according to sex and age.

3. The urban housewife

The difficulty of finding common patterns for poor urban women who do not work makes the analysis of their situation more complex. At all events, note may be taken of the heterogeneity of their living situations and the difficulty of considering them apart from their family of origin and of procreation. Clearly, any attempt at systematization must include these factors, in addition to diversity of social strata to which they belong. In this respect, two extreme cases may be cited by way of example: that of the marginal slum dweller and that of the wife of a worker in the modern secondary sector. Between these two cases there is a wide range which may be considered to represent the poor urban woman who does not participate in the labour market.

In spite of these reservations, however, some common aspects can be identified. One of these is that their position as housewives and mothers presupposes a series of well-established functions. In this case, the difference between household work and the production of goods and services for the market is clearer. They are responsible for all the household work, and this is accepted as an unavoidable obligation. This household work, generally of a routine nature, has been learned by observing the activities of the woman's own mother. Possible innovations are due only to school influences (if there is a certain minimum level of schooling), and to the influence of the mass media

Table 9

LATIN AMERICA (FIVE COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN LOWER OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1960-1970

(Percentages)

	Argentina		Chile		Mexico		Dominican Republic		Guatemala	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970[a]	1960	1970[a]	1960	1970
Lower occupational strata in secondary activities	20.4	16.6	20.5	18.2	14.3	-	14.5	-	27.7	28.5
Wage-earning workers	14.5	11.8	12.6	10.7	13.6	-	7.8	-	7.8	7.9
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	5.9	4.8	7.9	7.5	0.7	-	6.7	-	19.9	20.6
Lower occupational strata in tertiary activities	26.1	27.2	42.7	35.3	29.5	-	45.4	-	38.4	36.1
Wage-earning workers	24.4	25.0	39.2	30.2	29.2	-	40.3	-	35.7	34.4
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	1.7	2.2	3.5	3.0	0.3	-	3.1	-	2.7	1.9
Lower occupational strata in primary activities	4.1	3.2	4.1	2.4	3.8	-	10.3	-	9.7	4.1
Wage-earning workers	1.8	1.3	2.1	1.2	0.4	-	2.7	-	4.7	1.8
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	2.3	1.9	2.0	1.2	3.4	-	7.6	-	5.0	2.3
Total lower strata	30.6	47.0	67.3	53.9	47.6	-	68.2	-	75.8	70.7

a/ No data given in these columns for lack of sufficient information.

Table 10

LATIN AMERICA (FIVE COUNTRIES): AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF WOMEN IN LOWER OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1960-1970

	Argentina		Chile		Mexico		Dominican Republic		Guatemala	
	1960	1970	1960	1970	1960	1970a/	1960	1970a/	1960a/	1970
Lower occupational strata in secondary activities	4.7	6.7	5.1	5.6	3.9		3.3			2.0
Wage-earning workers	4.7	6.7	5.0	5.5	3.9		3.1			3.4
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	4.7	6.8	5.5	5.8	3.4		3.7			1.4
Lower occupational strata in tertiary activities	3.4	5.4	3.4	4.2	2.0		2.2			1.8
Wage-earning workers	3.4	5.4	3.4	4.2	2.0		2.2			1.8
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	3.2	6.4	3.4	4.2	2.3		1.8			2.1
Lower occupational strata in primary activities	2.3	4.3	2.5	3.2	1.7		0.9			0.5
Wage-earning workers	2.3	4.4	2.2	3.2	2.3		0.8			0.6
Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	2.7	4.3	2.8	3.0	1.4		0.9			0.4
Average for female EAP	5.7	7.7	5.2	6.7	3.5		3.8			3.3
Average for EAP	5.1	7.1	4.9	5.8	2.7		2.6			2.0

a/ No data given in these colums for lack of sufficient information.

such as radio and television. Some influence may also be exerted in this respect by communication with other housewives and the sharing of common experiences.

Another fundamental aspect of the situation of this type of urban housewife lies in the fact that the income received by the husband, father or companion is not sufficient to take care of the minimum requirements for food, clothing and housing, and the possibilities of making ends meet depend on the woman's skill in managing the family budget.

More background information is required, however, to be able to determine more accurately the aspects of the life and organization of urban housewives in order to bring out both the common features and the differences in this sector.

4. The female manual worker

Female manual workers of the secondary sector have been considered as the most modern and dynamic group, in that their work in this sector gives them greater exposure to the mass communication media, better communication and contact with workers in the same situation, and therefore a fuller view of the society in which they live and the role they play in it.

Although their level of education is higher and their occupational qualifications better, however, this does not mean that they have a greater awareness of their position in the social structure. It is well known that women are frequently used to smash movements aimed at gaining better conditions, because they are the persons who are most afraid of losing their jobs and therefore accept more unfavourable conditions. More information is needed, however, to justify pronouncements regarding variations in the labour and trade union attitudes of female manual workers.

In this group, women choose occupations which are an extension of their domestic functions: thus, most female manual workers work in the textile industry and clothing manufacture. 21/

It is interesting to note that, contrary to what might be expected, this sector of female industrial workers does not increase in relative terms in the same proportion as in the other production sectors. On the contrary, during the decade under examination there was a drop in its relative size, except in Guatemala, where there was a slight increase in the participation of this stratum.

Once again, the double task facing working women is to be noted. Although in some enterprises - the biggest and most modern - there are child-care centres and nurseries, this is not the case in most of them, so that workers are obliged to make various arrangements for their children to be looked after during the working day. This responsibility is often entrusted to older children or the good will of relatives or neighbours, and as always the female worker is also responsible for the organization and execution of the household work for herself and her family group. Efforts have been made to enable female workers to acquire take-out meals for their families at low cost, but these attempts have been isolated and apparently not very successful.

21/ It has been noted that trade union leaders elected in markedly "female" enterprises, such as textile factories, are always men. See J. Graciarena, op.cit, and T. de Barbieri, op. cit.

Within the range of strata listed, however, this is the stratum in which women are in the best relative position, since in the case of medium-sized and large enterprises they enjoy certain basic services, while they also receive relatively higher wages compared with those of peasant women and women in the poor services strata.

5. Housemaids

Among women who work in the services sector and belong to the lower strata, two main types may be described: housemaids and street vendors. Attention will be focussed here on the first type, which covers rather more than 90% of the women of the lower strata who work in the tertiary sector.

This stratum is the biggest of those considered so far. It covers the activities of almost one-third of the women who work, and although it has tended to go down during the decade, it has done so only very slightly (see table 3). The average number of years of schooling differs from one country to another, from one year in Guatemala to five years in Argentina in 1970. Thus, it is below the average level of the female manual worker, although higher than that of the female peasant.

Most of the women who migrate from rural areas are absorbed into the economy through domestic work. 22/ It is interesting to note that this sector contains the largest number of working women under 20 years of age. This is because housemaids, like street vendors, require little or no training, and this can be carried out while actually working. Moreover, the demand for housemaids is quite elastic and also very fluid, so it is possible to pass directly from domestic work in one's own house to domestic work for others, thus enabling women to reduce or increase the number of hours they work relatively easily. 23/ On the supply side, domestic work is that in which the labour is cheapest, because of the lack of qualifications and training already referred to, and the continuous flow of women from rural areas to the cities.

---

22 / In Lima, 88% of the housemaids are migrants. See Alberto Rutté García, Simplemente explotadas. El mundo de las empleadas domésticas de Lima, DESCO, Centro de Estudios y Promoción del Desarrollo, Lima, 1973

23 / See E. Jelin, "Migración a las ciudades y participación en la fuerza de trabajo de las mujeres latinoamericanas: El caso del servicio doméstico", Estudios Sociales N°4, CEDES, Buenos Aires, December 1976.

Two basic kinds of domestic service are to be distinguished: "living-in maids" and "living-out maids", depending on wheter or not they live in the dwelling of their employers. The first type of work involves longer hours and closer integration with the people for whom the maid works. This means that a housemaid has less possibility of organizing an independent life or forming her own family group. 24/ The "living-in" form of work predominates in domestic service.

The constant interaction with the persons for whom a housemaid works leads her to identify herself with the values held by these persons and to displace her own class interests, and this, in view of the difficulty of linking up with other workers in the same situation, makes it difficult for housemaids to perceive where their own interests lie. 25/

In the case of "living-out" maids, the situation may be different, since they live in contact with persons of their same social stratum who thus naturally modify their view of society.

Reference has already been made to the low social and economic significance attached to household work, not only when women carry it out for their own family units, but also when they carry it out for other persons. It is the lowest kind of work as regards occupational prestige, satisfaction and remuneration. Certain information indicates that in Greater Santiago the wages of housemaids corresponded, in relative terms, to only 41% of the average national income in 1970, compared with 47% in the case of manual workers and 139% in the case of non-manual workers. The wages of housemaids are far below the national daily average, and around 1972 they were only 50% of the minimum

---

24/ A study on housemaids carried out in Chile indicates that 80% are unmarried. See P. Alonso, M. Larraín and R. Saldías, Realidad de las empleadas domésticas en Chile, Departamento de Práctica y Asistencia Legal, Escuela de Derecho, Universidad Católica de Chile, Santiago, 1975.

25/ In the study by E. Jelin referred to in this paper, the author raises the following queries, "Up to what point do domestic servants idealize or identify themselves with their employers instead of feeling exploited and downtrodden? Up to what point does this identification prevent the development of a working class identity, thus cutting off housemaids from interaction with other workers? Are not housemaids likely to develop aspirations much higher than those of other members of the working class?"

legal wage for manual and non-manual workers. 26/

6. Native street vendors

The difficulty in obtaining adequate information on all the Latin American women who spend part of their time in selling their agricultural and handicraft products means that it is only possible to note some important features taken from studies of an anthropological nature. 27/ Most of these tend to highlight only the specific aspects encountered in each community, thus losing sight of the more general aspects common to all of them.

An essential feature is that most of the Latin American women who may be included in this category belong to the indigenous population.

Their activity consists mainly in travelling once or twice a week from the community to which they belong and in which they and their families work in agricultural activities to the trading centres where their agricultural and handicraft products can be sold. Sometimes they only act as intermediaries, since they buy the products and then sell them in the markets nearest to their place of origin.

The training needed to carry out these activities is gained by watching the mother and other adults. One of the most important aspects, which affects the prestige of the vendor and the effectiveness of her work, is the need to have a good knowledge of Spanish and to be reasonably good at figures. It has also been noted that many vendors give up wearing their native dress and adopt city styles as a sign of higher status.

Since this type of commercial activity of native women is independent, it gives them certain freedom in making decisions. They can decide with whom they are going to do

---

26/ See P. Alonso, M. Larraín and R. Saldías, op.cit., pp. 54-55.

27/ See the part which refers especially to the commercial activities of women in Hans Buechler and Judith-María Buechler, The Bolivian Aymara, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., N.Y., 1970. See also the article by S. Minzt, "The employment of capital by market women in Haití", in R. Firth and B.S. Yamey, Capital Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1964, and Lourdes Arizpe, Indígenas en la ciudad de México. El caso de las 'Marías', Editorial Sep/setentas, México City, 1975.

business and also how they are going to fix their prices.28/ At the same time, the arrival at the market of other vendors gives them an opportunity to exchange experiences and communicate with people of other areas or communities, although it has been noted that there is competition among them to gain a certain steady clientele and to occupy the best places for the sale of their products.

In the aforementioned study, on Bolivia, reference is made to the coexistence of two forms of gaining pitches in the market, depending on whether the vendors are establish a right to it through their membership in vendors' associations, or newer vendors who have only recently begun their trading activity and do not have any fixed pitch on which to work.

The organization of these women's domestic activities during their absence one or two days a week may be the responsibility of older daughters. If their children are too small, the women take them with them when carrying out their trading activities.

Unfortunately, more detailed information is not available regarding the patterns followed by this type of insertion of rural women in the labour field. A fuller study of their situation is needed, which could serve to determine the effects that this type of activity may have when those carrying it out decide to migrate to the city.

Conclusion

The description of the foregoing types of women was aimed at partially covering some important aspects of poor women in Latin America, and in particular, the variations between their different living situations. Certain types were not mentioned because they represent only small groups. Among these are the groups made up of women who live in the country and belong to the lower occupational strata in secondary activities and the groups made up of women who work in the countryside but live in the city.

In spite of the effort made to summarize some of the internal differences existing between women defined as belonging to the lower strata and to bring out the generic features of each type, two serious methodological problems remain: the difficulty of studying women apart from their family unit, and the shortage of relevant information which

---

28/ It has been indicated, however, in the case of the native migrants to Mexico City, that the commercial activity carried out is under the control of the husband, companion or other male family member. See Lourdes Arizpe, op. cit.

would permit a deeper analysis of each type.

Al all events, some generic features common to all the types continue to be important, among them the lack of power and social organization of women, the open discrimination to which they are subjected, and the difficulties in incorporating them into types of work of higher productivity: a phenomenon linked with their poor qualifications and the low incomes that they can attain.

It is essential, then, to define the field better and to design more suitable techniques for studying it more scientifically. As long as poor women continue to be an abstract, indefinable, unmeasurable entity, the possibilities of concrete action by them to improve their situation will be ever more distant, thus further increasing the distance separating them both from other women and from men belonging to other social classes.

IV. EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF WOMEN

Introduction

The aim of this study is to appraise the present conditions of education for women in Latin America and the Caribbean. This requires a description of the existing situation so as to compare it with the desired objectives, determine whether what exists is adequate and if not, how it should be modified, and propose measures for making the change. The objectives are set forth in the Regional Plan of Action, henceforth referred to as the Plan, and serve a double purpose : they constitute the pattern used to appraise what exists and a guide for selecting the variables to be studied empirically.

The Plan states that "education is an essential factor in the economic and social development of peoples and a basic right of men and women as social beings; to receive it is therefore a principle of equity and justice..." It may be deduced from this paragraph that education is important because it fulfils two functions. It is an instrument for the training of qualified human resources, i.e. capable of undertaking efficiently the tasks of production and taking part in decision-making. It is also an essential factor for the development of human beings. The first of these links education with the activities of production and economic growth, with reference to such matters as the relation between the educational levels of the labour force and the needs of the apparatus of production. The second of the two confers on education a value per se in that it serves to develop the potentialities of human beings, permitting the full realization of the individual as a person. This is reinforced and complemented when it is established that society is just to the extent that it enables all its members to put into effect their right to obtain education.

The relation existing between the two functions of education can be clarified by reference to the International Development Strategy, which states that although it is indispensable for the countries to possess a system of production capable of generating the goods required to meet the needs of the population, this is only

a means to bring about "sustained improvement in the well-being of the individual and bestow benefit on all".

Once the role played by education in development is thus defined, it is necessary to look at how the Plan envisages the problem of women in the region in relation to education and the measures it proposes for dealing with it. The Plan begins by mentioning the inequality which affects women adversely in terms of their access to education and the nature and content of the education received.1/ It presents a group of action proposals for dealing with this situation, of which the following may be noted: (a) to eliminate illiteracy; (b) to increase the inclusion of women in secondary and higher education; (c) to bring the supply of those leaving the educational system into line with the needs of the production system; (d) to modify both the curriculo and the school texts so as to provide a response to production activities and the daily requirements of women from rural areas and marginated urban areas; (e) to establish coeducation and modify the image of women in a positive way.

Having thus considered the definition of the role of education and the Plan's action proposals for improving the situation of women, we should now review, some characteristic trends of the educational system in the region 2/ during the period 1960-1970:

(a) Its high growth rate, in terms of the decline in illiteracy among the population of 15 years of age and over (from 42% in 1950 to 34% in 1960 and 24% in 1970) and coverage of the school-age population.

1/ In paragraph 25, the Regional Plan of Action notes that in the region women represent a high percentage of the illiterate population and a low percentage of the population with secondary and higher education.

2/ See Desarrollo humano, cambio social y crecimiento en América Latina, Cuadernos de la CEPAL, Nº3, Santiago, 1975. Desarrollo y cambio social en América Latina, Cuadernos de la CEPAL, Nº16, Santiago, 1977. Germán W. Rama, Notas sobre la educación para la evaluación internacional del desarrollo, CEPAL, Social Development Division, 1975 (typescript). Carlos Filgueira, Expansión educacional y estratificación social en América Latina, DEALC/4, Buenos Aires, 1977, Germán W. Rama, Educación, imágenes y estilos de desarrollo, Cuadernos de la CEPAL, Nº31, 1979.

(b) Its notable absorption measured by the progress achieved in the incorporation of the population into educational system. A controversial subject is whether the opening-up of education does or does not have a real impact as a channel for upward mobility. Suffice it to say that whatever its specific effect may be, access to secondary and higher education is generally regarded as a means of advancement, hence the social pressure to increase enrollment at these levels.

(c) Despite its tendency to grow, the education process still has elitist and exclusive traits. While enrollment in secondary and higher education increases rapidly, a considerable proportion of the population of 10 years of age and over continues to be illiterate.

In this general context, the situation of women in the different countries of the region will be analysed with a view to discovering which action proposals have led to greatest progress and which should be reinforced, and in which countries of the region women are most discriminated against and in a most unfavourable position.

Before presenting the empirical data a proviso must be made. It should be noted that in order to propose policies, it is essential to explain the situation with regard to education, so as to establish what key factors have to be manipulated if it is to be altered in any specific way. This requires not a sectoral analysis but an analysis of the overall situation. Although we are aware of the need to proceed in this manner, this analysis will be approached sectorally and is therefore restricted to describing existing conditions so as to evaluate how much progress has been made in achieving the objectives proposed by the Plan. Since this study is more specific, we shall confine ourselves to comparing the situation of men and women in different countries and within each country, with a view to discovering which countries have the worst educational conditions, in which aspects of the educational system the greatest inadequacies are to be found and in which the differences between the educational situation of men and women are most pronounced.

A. FEATURES OF THE EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF WOMEN, 1960-1970

It is apparently easy to measure the situation of education since abundant statistical data are available. Some aspects remain unclear however, such as the drop-out rates and female absenteeism, differences in the content of curricula and in the way in which boys and girls are taught. The information available for the study of these latter aspects is scattered, is generally of a qualitative nature and is frequently based more on speculation than on research.

Statistical data exist for studying illiteracy and levels of educational attainment. The usefulness of census data for tackling the study of the situation of women in respect of these variables has been demonstrated in numerous studies and pieces of research. But these studies have also proved to have limitations. It is not, therefore, superfluous to repeat that census data only allow for a global analysis of the situation of women considered as a nominal category. 3/ This means that different situations can be observed in different countries and within a single country among men and women, but the differences existing within the category of women are ignored. 4/

Having made these clarifications we shall go on to the empirical evidence required to analize the situation of women in the region in terms of their degree of literacy and their educational attainment.

3/ For a discussion of this topic, see Carlos Borsotti, "Situación de la Mujer y Desarrollo: Acotaciones" in Paz Covarrubias and Rolando Franco, Chile: Mujer y Sociedad, Santiago, Alfabeta, 1978, pp. 770-773..

4/ Hence it may be concluded that it might be more appropriate to use other forms of research so as to deal with the matter in more detail, by studying different types of women. This could be a recommendation for the next appraisal since in this case the design was based of the prior definition of the empirical material available, and not the reverse as might have been desirable, i.e., from a selection and ultimately from the collection of the data in terms of the appraisal defined a priori.

1. Literacy

Table 1 gives data on the percentages of illiterate persons in the male and female population according to area of residence for two periods: around 1960 and around 1970.5/

When only the global percentages of illiteracy are considered, it may be seen that in all the countries the illiteracy of the population in general and of the female population in particular has continued to decline. The differences between countries, however, continue to be very considerable. If the percentages of illiterate women existing in 1970 are examined, it will be seen that of the 18 countries for which data are available, 5 have 5 to 12% of female illiteracy, while at the other end of the scale, there are 5 countries in which more than 40% of the women are illiterate.

Lastly, in all the countries the percentage of illiterate women is higher in rural areas.

Table 2 makes it possible to take the analysis further since it: (a) classifies the countries of the region into three types according to the magnitude of their percentage of illiterates in 1960;

5/ Since these are data taken from the national censuses, the exact dates of each vary. We therefore refer to these two points in time on the understanding that they constitute approximations. It should also be added that this is a census measurement which propably underestimates the level of illiteracy which could be derived from a more adequate measurement of functional illiteracy.

The data were obtained from standardized census samples(OMUECE programme), the advantage of which is that they allow comparisons between countries. Their limitation, however, is that they refer only to some countries. The analysis therefore centres on these countries. Information for the rest was completed by using data from censuses or surveys, or both, and thus, it is not possible to make comparisons. This data series is therefore presented as an approximate indication of the type of situation existing in these countries.

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (TWENTY-TWO COUNTRIES): ILLITERACY ACCORDING TO SEX FOR THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE AND RURAL AREAS, 1960 AND 1970

(Percentages)

Country	1960						1970					
	Total country	Men	Women	Total rural areas	Men	Women	Total country	Men	Women	Total rural areas	Men	Women
Argentina	7.7	7.0	8.5	...	...	...	7.1	6.3	7.8	...	...	...
Barbados	1.8	1.6	1.8	2.4	2.2	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brazil	39.0	35.6	42.4	...	...	...	34.1	31.0	37.2	58.3	56.4	60.6
Bolivia	61.2	52.0	70.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	-	-
Colombia	26.6	25.3	27.9	40.6	38.5	43.9	19.1a/	18.0	20.2	34.6	32.6	36.7
Costa Rica	14.4	14.0	14.9	19.8	19.2	20.4	10.4	10.3	10.5	15.1	15.0	15.3
Chile	15.2	15.8	16.4	29.6	27.3	32.4	10.7	10.1	11.5	24.2	22.6	25.9
Ecuador	30.6	26.7	34.5	42.1	36.9	47.5	...	...	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	52.9	49.7	55.9	68.6	64.9	72.5	40.5	37.6	43.4	55.6	52.7	58.7
Guatemala	61.1	55.6	66.6	76.2	69.8	82.9	51.9	44.9	58.9	66.1	58.9	73.3
Haiti	85.5	83.0	88.0	-	-	-	80.4	77.1	83.6	88.2	84.5	91.9
Honduras	53.8	51.5	56.0	60.7	57.8	63.6	41.6	39.9	43.2	...	...	...
Jamaica	18.1	21.4	15.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	33.0	29.4	36.5	46.6	42.6	51.1	25.8	23.4	27.0	...	...	...
Nicaragua	50.4	49.9	50.8	70.2	69.2	71.3	42.5	42.0	42.9	65.4	63.8	67.0
Panama	25.0	24.8	25.2	40.4	38.7	42.4	20.7	20.4	20.9	35.5	33.6	37.7
Paraguay	24.4	23.8	25.2	31.0	26.4	36.0	19.2	15.6	22.7	24.5	20.0	29.2
Peru b/	37.8	26.2	43.4	...	...	...	25.2	15.8	34.6	47.3	32.0	62.9
Dominican Republic	34.1	32.9	35.3	36.9	35.8	38.1	32.2	31.3	32.9	48.0	46.1	49.8
Trinidad and Tobago	6.6	8.0	6.0	-	-	-	7.8	5.3	10.3	-	-	-
Uruguay	9.5c/	9.8	9.4	17.0	18.7	15.0	5.7d/	6.1	5.2	10.1	11.7	7.8
Venezuela	36.7	32.0	41.6	62.7	-	-	23.5	20.3	26.6	-	-	-

Source: Operación de Muestras de Censos CHECK. The data are obtained on the basis of standardized samples from the corresponding censuses.
UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1976. The data are obtained on the basis of the corresponding censuses or from surveys.

a/ Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, XIV National Population Census and III Housing Census, advance sample, Bogotá, August 1975.

b/ Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (ONEC), 1961 Census.

c/ Dirección General de Estadísticas y Censos, IV Population Census and II Housing Census, 1963, volume II, Educación Montevideo (no date).

d/ Dirección General de Estadísticas y Censos, V Population Census and III Housing Census, 1975, Montevideo, 1977, population of 10 years of age and over.

(b) ranks the countries according to their position on a scale ranging from the lowest to the highest percentage of illiteracy (position 1 indicates the country with the lowest percentage of illiterates and the top position to that with the highest percentage of illiterates);
(c) orders them according to the position they occupy in terms of the magnitude of the differences between percentages of illiterates in the male and female population.

The data presented allow several conclusions to be drawn:

- The three categories established according to the percentage of illiterates existing in 1960 prove to be a significant way to group countries. These categories are shown to persist and are associated with the situation of women. Thus, the countries with the lowest illiteracy in 1960 still held this position in 1970.

- In each category the position of the countries in 1960, on a scale from lowest to highest illiteracy for the whole population, coincides with the position of the countries in respect of the lowest or highest illiteracy among the female population. This coincidence is maintained in 1970, except for slight differences. To quote two extremes, this is the case of the countries with the lowest percentage of illiterates - Argentina, Barbados, Chile, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay - and that of the countries with the highest percentages - Bolivia, Haiti, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and El Salvador.

- The difference, measured in points, between the percentage of illiterates in the female population and the percentage of illiterates in the male population is an indicator of equality between the sexes. Whatever the level of illiteracy, this measurement only shows the difference between the situations of women and men. It may be seen from these figures that the differences tend to decrease, except in 4 countries - Peru, El Salvador, Guatemala, Trinidad and Tobago - where they increase to the disadvantage of the female population.

The magnitude of the differences existing between the percentages of illiterate men and women is generally small; less than 2% in 8 out of 18 countries for which data are available. There are, however, three countries -Guatemala, El Salvador and Peru - where this difference is 15 or more points to the disadvantage of women.

The evidence presented leads to the conclusion that the higher the percentage of illiterates in a country, the greater the differences to the disadvantage of women. This adverse situation of women is worse in rural areas.

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: TYPES OF COUNTRIES BY DEGREE OF ILLITERACY, ACCORDING TO SCALES OF LITERACY AND INEQUALITY, BY SEX, 1960 AND 1970

Types and countries	Scale of literacy a/				Scale of inequality b/	
	1960		1970			
	Total population	Women	Total population	Women	1960	1970
Type 1 c/						
Barbados	1	1	-	-	4	-
Trinidad and Tobago	2	2	3	3	8	10
Argentina	3	3	2	2	6	6
Uruguay	4	4	1	1	3	1
Costa Rica	5	5	4	4	6	8
Chile	6	7	5	5	10	5
Jamaica	7	6	-	-	1	-
Type 2 d/						
Paraguay	8	10	7	8	17	15
Panama	9	8	8	7	5	3
Colombia	10	9	6	6	11	8
Ecuador	11	11	-	-	18	-
Mexico	12	13	10	10	16	14
Dominican Republic	13	12	12	11	9	7
Venezuela	14	14	9	9	19	12
Peru	15	16	11	12	21	18
Brazil	16	15	13	13	15	11
Type 3 e/						
Nicaragua	17	17	16	14	7	4
El Salvador	18	18	14	16	14	17
Honduras	19	19	15	15	12	9
Guatemala	20	20	17	17	20	16
Bolivia	21	21	-	-	22	-
Haiti	22	22	18	18	13	13

Source: Prepared on the basis of Table 1.

a/ Grade 1 on the scale means that the country so designated has the smallest percentage of illiterates, while grade n corresponds to that with the highest percentage.

b/ Grade 1 on the scale means that the country so designated has the smallest difference between the percentages of the female and male illiterate population.

c/ Type 1 comprises countries which in 1960 had less than 25% of illiterates.

d/ Type 2 covers countries which in 1960 had between 25% and 35% of illiterates.

e/ Type 3 groups countries which in 1960 had an illiterate population of 40% and over.

Not only is illiteracy higher in these areas, but the magnitude of the differences to the disadvantage of women is also greater.

If illiteracy is analysed dynamically, i.e., by examining the percentages of growth of literacy (see tables 3 and 4), it will be noted that the patterns for the different countries are dissimilar. It may be observed, for example, that in Guatemala and Peru the differences between the sexes are increasing: while literacy increases at a rate of 10.7% for men, it only increases at a rate of 6.7% for women. At the other extreme, however, Brazil, Costa Rica, Chile, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay show higher increases in literacy among women than among men.

In conclusion it may be said that action has been undertaken which, if continued, will make it possible to eliminate illiteracy in type 1 countries and reduce it in the rest. A parallel process of equalization of the sexes is in progress in the majority of countries.

Lastly, it was considered appropriate to make a cross-classification of the situation of the countries in respect of their degree of illiteracy and the magnitude of the differences between the percentage of illiterates in the male and female population (see table 5).

The importance of this table for policy formulation should be mentioned, since it makes it possible to deduce the importance of undertaking literacy programmes in general or literacy programmes aimed particularly at the female population, or both types. Two examples may be quoted to illustrate this. In Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay, it may be assumed that the problem is being adequately tackled and that, if everything continues as now, it will move towards a solution. In Guatemala, El Salvador and Peru,, however, attention must be given to the problem of illiteracy and to proposing programmes directed especially at the female population.

2. Educational attainment

We shall now look at the access women have to the different levels of education. It should be recalled that the objectives pursued here are: (a) to ensure that the female population will at least have primary education thus eliminating what might be termed "critical ignorance"6/; (b) to increase the incorporation of women into other levels of education.

6/ This term is proposed in the final report of the Project on development and education in Latin America and the Caribbean, sponsored by UNESCO, CEPAL, UNDP, DEALC/8, Buenos Aires, 1978, p. 35.

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA: (THIRTEEN COUNTRIES): GROWTH OF LITERACY, 1960-1970

	Argentina	Brazil	Chile	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Guatemala	Honduras	Mexico	Panama	Paraguay	Peru	Dominican Republic	Uruguay
Men	0.7	4.6	3.7	3.7	12.1	10.7	11.6	9.0	4.4	5.2	10.4	1.6	3.7
Women	0.7	5.2	3.1	4.2	13.5	6.7	14.8	9.5	4.3	5.5	8.8	2.4	4.2
Total	0.7	4.9	3.5	3.9	12.4	9.2	13.2	9.2	5.3	5.2	9.6	1.2	3.9[a]

Source: UNESCO, CEPAL, UNDP, Project on development and education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Operación de Muestras de Censos (OMEDEC).

a/ 1963 and 1975 censuses.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA (EIGHT COUNTRIES): GROWTH OF LITERACY IN RURAL AREAS, 1960-1970

	Chile	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Guatemala	Panama	Dominican Republic	Paraguay	Uruguay
Men	4.7	4.2	12.2	11.3	5.1	-5.3	6.4	11.3
Women	6.5	5.1	13.8	8.6	4.7	-4.9	6.8	9.8
Total	5.4	4.7	13.0	10.1	4.9	-5.1	6.5	6.9[a]

Source: UNESCO, CEPAL, UNDP, Project on development and education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Operación de Muestras de Censos (OMEDEC).

a/ 1963 and 1975 censuses.

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (EIGHTEEN COUNTRIES): CLASSIFICATION OF COUNTRIES BY DEGREE OF ILLITERACY AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SEXES, 1970

Degree of illiteracy (Percentages)	Difference between male and female illiteracy		
	Less than two points	Between 3 and 7 points	15 points and over
Less than 25	Argentina, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, Panama, Colombia	Paraguay, Trinidad and Tobago	
25 and over	Dominican Republic, Nicaragua	Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti, Mexico, Paraguay, Honduras	Guatemala, El Salvador Peru

Source: Operación de Muestras de Censos (OMEDEC); UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1976, and data processed by CEPAL.

Table 6

LATIN AMERICA (TWENTY COUNTRIES): LEVELS OF SCHOOLING OF THE POPULATION AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER, 1960 AND 1970

Country	Year	Levels of schooling														
		None and pre-school			Lower primary a/			Upper primary			Secondary			University		
		Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Argentina b/	1960	8.9	7.8	9.9	25.7	25.5	25.9	47.1	46.5	47.7	13.0	13.6	14.3	3.3	4.5	2.1
	1970	1.1	1.2	1.2	18.2	17.8	18.6	25.6	24.5	26.5	20.7	20.9	20.6	4.4	5.5	3.3
Brazil	1960	49.8	50.0	49.6	26.9	31.5	26.4	19.8	20.1	19.6	7.5	7.2	7.2	0.6	1.3	0.3
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colombia	1960	27.1	25.0	29.0	36.0	37.7	34.5	23.0	23.1	23.0	13.2	13.2	13.1	1.1	1.9	0.4
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Costa Rica	1960	16.9	17.2	16.6	34.1	34.4	33.8	34.9	34.3	35.6	11.0	10.8	11.2	3.0	3.1	2.7
	1970	12.0	12.1	11.9	24.8	25.0	24.7	40.1	39.6	40.6	20.3	20.1	20.4	3.0	3.2	2.4
Chile b/	1960	16.1	14.6	17.5	20.7	21.4	20.2	35.3	35.0	35.5	25.0	25.3	24.8	1.7	2.7	1.0
	1970	10.1	9.5	10.6	18.7	18.7	18.6	44.7	44.4	45.0	23.6	23.8	23.4	2.9	3.7	2.2
Ecuador	1960	33.0	28.2	37.8	28.0	29.5	26.7	28.3	30.6	26.3	9.3	9.8	8.7	1.4	1.8	0.5
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1960	56.7	54.0	60.1	22.5	24.4	21.1	14.8	14.9	13.5	5.7	6.0	5.3	0.4	0.7	0.1
	1970	45.7	45.3	46.0	25.3	25.4	25.7	20.3	20.3	18.8	8.8	9.0	8.3	0.9	1.4	0.5
Guatemala b/	1960	2.5	3.5	1.5	17.8	21.5	14.2	11.3	13.1	10.6	4.4	5.3	3.4	0.7	1.1	0.3
		(68.5)	(57.2)	(69.1)	(68.5)	(57.2)	(69.1)	(68.5)	(57.2)	(69.1)	(68.5)	(57.2)	(69.1)	(68.5)	(57.2)	(69.1)
	1970	25.9	24.7	25.1	28.3	25.2	16.0	14.8	16.3	13.6	6.9	7.2	6.8	1.1	1.6	0.5
Honduras	1960	57.0	54.3	59.8	26.4	28.4	24.5	12.0	13.5	11.4	4.2	4.9	4.1	0.4	0.7	0.2
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico	1960	39.2	35.6	42.8	30.0	32.1	27.9	23.1	24.0	22.4	6.6	6.8	6.4	1.1	1.6	0.6
	1970	31.7	28.0	35.2	27.9	29.4	26.4	28.0	27.1	28.9	10.1	11.0	9.4	2.3	3.4	1.2
Panama	1960	27.3	27.0	27.6	18.4	19.4	17.3	34.4	33.9	35.0	17.6	16.9	18.2	2.1	2.3	1.9
	1970	20.0	19.5	20.7	16.4	17.1	15.6	37.7	37.9	37.7	22.1	21.5	22.5	3.7	4.1	3.3
Paraguay	1960	19.1	14.6	23.8	41.4	43.2	39.5	28.2	29.4	27.0	7.8	8.6	6.9	3.5	4.2	2.8
	1970	13.4c/	...	...	41.4c/	...	...	31.8c/	...	...	10.3c/	...	...	1.4c/	...	...
Peru	1960	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1970	27.1	16.2	37.6	24.6	27.3	21.9	20.9	25.3	16.4	18.3	21.0	15.7	4.0	6.2	1.9
Dominican Republic	1960	35.5	33.2	37.7	34.6	36.1	33.0	21.9	23.1	20.8	5.2	5.3	5.1	0.7	1.1	0.3
	1970	25.8	23.9	26.2	25.8	26.8	25.8	33.0	33.6	32.5	6.8	7.1	6.5	1.2	1.8	0.6
Uruguay	1960	13.0	12.7	13.2	25.5	27.4	23.5	45.5	44.6	46.4	13.7	14.2	13.3	2.3	3.1	1.6
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: UNESCO, CEPAL, UNDP, Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. The data are based on standard samples from the corresponding censuses, Questionnaire on Education (CEPAL).

a/ First to third years of primary education.

b/ In the intercensal period, Chile raised the number of years of primary education from 6 in 1960 to 8 in 1970, while secondary education was reduced to four years. In Argentina primary education rose from 6 to 7 years.

c/ The percentage corresponding to educational level of schooling is given in brackets.

National Population and Housing Census, 1972.

The analysis will be based on two types of data: one reflecting the educational attainment of the population as a whole and the other relating the population at a specific level of education with the population at an age for this level. The latter serves to eliminate the adverse effect of the educational lacunae of the older groups.

(a) Primary level

The figures in table 6 indicate that in all the countries the percentage of women who have completed their primary education increased between 1960 and 1970. As in the case of illiteracy, however, there are major differences among the countries under consideration, which fall into the same groupings as in table 2. In other words, the four countries which form the group with the lowest percentages of illiterates in 1960 are again the countries in which the highest percentages of the female population complete their primary education; and vice versa, the countries which form the category with the highest percentage of illiteracy are again the countries where the smallest percentage of women finish their primary education. The four countries in which the educational situation of women is relatively better have achieved percentages of the

Table 7

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: RATES OF ENROLMENT BY SEX AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AROUND 1960 AND 1970 a/

Country	Primary level				Secondary level				Higher level			
	1960		1970		1960		1970		1960		1970	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
Argentina	98	99	105	107	32	33	37	40	10.88	7.24	14.24	13.56
Barbados	96	96	102	107	45	54	51	45	0.81	0.86	4.02	3.88
Bolivia	84	80	66	56	11	10	-	-	1.61	1.64	-	-
Brazil	93	93	83	83	11	10	27	27	1.57	0.89	5.16	3.94
Colombia	77	77	100	101	12	11	25	22	1.74	0.64	4.89	2.49
Costa Rica	96	95	110	110	21	21	28	29	4.83	4.33	10.32	9.10
Cuba	109	-	119	118	14	-	22	25	-	-	3.69	2.94
Chile	109	107	107	107	24	24	39	42	4.16	3.08	9.40	7.04
Ecuador	83	79	97	95	12	10	-	-	2.36	0.95	7.66	4.48
El Salvador	80	77	73	70	11	10	22	21	1.10	0.44	3.30	-
Guatemala	45	42	58	52	7	6	11	9	1.39	0.31	3.45	1.39
Guyana	131	131	98	97	29	27	49	50	-	-	1.93	0.73
Haiti	46	42	50	44	4	-	-	-	0.41	0.10	-	-
Honduras	87	87	94	93	8	7	12	12	1.05	0.35	2.13	-
Jamaica	118	128	106	107	10	-	30	-	1.69	-	5.43	-
Mexico	80	-	104	102	11	8	22	17	2.60	0.90	6.00	3.40
Nicaragua	66	66	83	84	7	6	18	17	1.20	0.40	3.60	3.60
Panama	96	94	103	100	28	32	40	43	4.60	4.10	6.30	6.20
Paraguay	98	90	109	104	11	11	17	17	2.40	1.50	4.35	3.66
Peru	86	74	114	106	18	13	36	31	4.10	2.37	10.66	7.34
Dominican Republic	98	98	106	107	13	14	19	20	1.31	0.73	8.07	7.02
Trinidad and Tobago	110	109	112	112	24	24	36	38	0.79	0.68	3.90	3.09
Uruguay	112	105	106	103	37	38	-	-	7.90	6.45	-	-
Venezuela	100	100	94	95	21	21	37	39	4.29	2.76	11.70	9.65

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1975.

a/ Total enrolment as a percentage of the total population of the corresponding age group. Definitions vary according to the ages and years of primary schooling established by the legislation of each country.

female population with complete primary education ranging between 40 and 53%. In the case of the countries with the lowest percentages for women's primary education, these figures are below 20% of the female population.

In order to analyse more specifically what was taking place between 1960 and 1970, setting aside the effect of the educational shortcomings of the older groups, it is necessary to study the population enrolled at each educational level in relation to the population of the corresponding age, the figures for which appear in table 7.

These data show that progress is being made towards the objective of ensuring that women have at least completed their primary education. This is borne out by the fact that the rates of female enrollment have increased in 22 of the 24 countries under consideration. Furthermore, if the 1970 enrollment rates are compared with the 95% enrollment which is the average continental European rate, 7/ the rates turn out to be satisfactory in 17 of the 24 countries studied.

7/ UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1976, p.115.

In order to compare the access of men and women to primary education within each country, the arbitrary benchmark was adopted of 4 percentage points of difference between the enrollment rate of the female population and that of the total population. In 1960 there were 7 countries in which this difference was 4 points or more; in 1970 there were only 3, and the magnitude of the differences had also decreased. This shows that women still have a somewhat lesser possibility than men of enrolling in primary education.

The question now arises of how women use the educational opportunities afforded them. The answer is derived from a study of school drop-out and repetition rates and the percentages of continued attendance in the educational system; unfortunately, the analysis of school drop-out rates had to be given up because the necessary data were not available.

The information on repetition percentages appears in table 8. It may be seen that in the first school year women tend to repeat less than men, but in the sixth year the performance of the two sexes tends to become similar. The percentage of first-year repetition are strikingly large.

In order to calculate continued attendance in school, a cohort is followed from enrollment in the first level through the final year, and the figures are expressed as percentages of the students who finish in relation to every 100 initially enrolled. Information was available for only two countries and, what is worse, shows contrary trends for the two sexes. Thus, in Ecuador the percentage for women is lower than for men while in Colombia the opposite is true(see table 9). What is clear is that continued school attendance is greater in urban zones than in rural areas, and that in the former the differences between the sexes are smaller.

It may be observed in passing that one of the most serious problems encountered is the poor performance of the educational system. This underscores what was said in relation to the high figures for first year repetition. In the only country for which information is available, 25% of the school children are lost between the first and the second year, and as much as 50% in rural areas. It is therefore worth recalling that the demands of the system are not adapted to the development of the child, particularly as regards verbal expression skills. This is all the more serious in rural zones where isolation is greater. The lack of fit between the abilities developed in children and those needed to follow educational programmes appears to be one of the factors explaining the low effectiveness of the system. This is substantiated

Table 8

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: REPETITION OF THE FIRST AND SIXTH YEARS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION, BY SEX, AROUND 1970

Country	Percentages			
	First year		Sixth year	
	Total	Women	Total	Women
Argentina	23	22	4	3
Barbados	-	-	-	-
Bolivia	-	-	-	-
Brazil	25	22	13	11
Colombia	22	22	-	-
Costa Rica	18	17	1	1
Cuba	34	31	9	9
Chile	17	16	5	5
Ecuador	18	18	6	6
El Salvador	24	23	7	7
Guatemala	26	-	2	-
Guyana	13	11	12	12
Haiti	-	-	-	-
Honduras	-	-	-	-
Jamaica	-	-	-	-
Mexico	-	-	-	-
Nicaragua	16	16	5	5
Panama	24	22	5	3
Paraguay	25	23	4	3
Peru	25	25	6	5
Dominican Republic	33	31	6	6
Trinidad and Tobago	-	-	-	-
Uruguay	30	-	7	-
Venezuela	-	-	-	-

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1976.

Table 9

ECUADOR AND COLOMBIA: CONTINUED ATTENDANCE THROUGH PRIMARY SCHOOL, BY SEX, 1970-1975

(Percentages)

	Ecuador (1970-1975 cohort)		Colombia (1970-1974 cohort)	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
National primary level	47.5	46.2	31.9	35.5
Urban primary level	70.9	70.2	52.3	51.0
Rural primary level	32.4	29.1	7.2	12.3

Sources: Republic of Ecuador, Ministry of Education, Boletín Estadístico, 1970 and 1975, and Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de Población (ACEP), La mujer y el desarrollo en Colombia, Bogotá, 1977.

by the arguments used by parents when their children have to repeat a school year or drop out of school, to the effect that the child "hasn't got a head for studying".

If it is also borne in mind that, particularly in rural zones, sending children to school represents a sacrifice(long distances to be covered, doing without the child's contribution in work, suitable clothing etc.) and that according to some researchers, parents do not see any clear effects for their future occupations - if they are men, to work the land, and in the case of women, to be housewives - it is easy to understand why they are allowed to drop out of school.

It is worth remembering that currently the completion of primary education in itself has increasingly less significance, being a prerequisite for entering the educational system but not providing sufficient knowledge to ensure that the pupil can perform successfully in his working life. This is due to the fact that the rapid growth of education has changed the value of schooling as a means of gaining access to jobs. Because there is an increasingly well-educated labour force, the need to chalk up an ever greater number of years of schooling has nothing to do with the volume of knowledge needed to perform a specific job. 8/ This suggests the futility of primary education, at least as a means of achieving equality of opportunity, since as an increasing number of the population attain that level, its value as a means of getting jobs declines. Consequently, primary education is of little importance from the standpoint of the training of skilled human resources, but remains important as a means of developing the intellectual potential of human beings, which is really the point which should be stressed.

8/ This has come to be called "educational stagflation". See Henry Kirsch, El Empleo en América Latina: mirada retrospectiva y perspectivas para el futuro. E/CEPAL/DS/183.

(b) Secondary level

Broadly speaking women's access to secondary education may be said to have improved, as is shown by the data in tables 6 and 7. In 1960 the percentage of women of the right age to be enrolled in secondary education and actually enrolled varied between 6 and 34%, whereas in 1970 the percentages ranged from a low of 9% to a high of 50%. Looking in detail at the 19 countries for which information is available, in 1970 there were 5 in which 40% or more of the women of the right age to be enrolled in secondary education were in fact enrolled. At the other end of the scale, in five countries this percentage was 20% or less, while in the remaining 9 countries the figures ranged from 21 to 39%.

With regard to the different access of men and women, in 1960 women lagged behind in almost all countries. In 1970, on the other hand, women led in as many countries as they lagged behind in. The countries with a low percentage of secondary students were the only ones in which the difference was unfavourable to women. Looking at the enrollment of the total population of secondary school age, there is a clear trend towards less discrimination against women. In 1960 there were 10 countries, out of a total of 18, in which the percentage of women in secondary education was lower than the percentage of the total population; five countries where women's access was the same as that of the total population; and three in which it was higher. In 1970, the female population lagged behind men in 7 countries, was equal in 3 and had greater access in 8 countries.

(c) Higher level

The data show that in 1960 between 0.1 and 2.7% of the female population of the corresponding age were enrolled at the university level. In 1970 the situation was better, with percentages of 0.4 and 3.7.

It is at this educational level that the differences against women are greatest. Table 10 indicates that around 1960 women represented over 40% of the enrollment in higher education in only 2 of the 20 countries, whereas in 8 countries they accounted for less than 20%. This situation had improved ostensibly by the 1970s: in 8 countries female enrollment was 40% or more, and it was under 20% in only 4 countries.

It is interesting to look at the enrollment of women in the different disciplines. There is a disproportionate enrollment in the liberal arts and education, where women represent the majority in almost all the countries. Their enrollment in social sciences, exact and natural sciences and law is much smaller; and

in engineering and agriculture it is quite low.

The above may be interpreted along the lines that women choose the subjects which are an extension of the roles they fulfil at home. The question then arises as to what point the survival of the orientations which lead women to fulfil their traditional role is preventing countries from using their potential skills and transforming them into highly skilled human resources, in order to further their economic growth.

In order to complete this sketch of the educational picture, some data should be given on the growth and distribution of enrollment by educational level, and on the numbers of women enrolled at each level. Since these are global figures for Latin America, they can only serve to indicate general processes (see tables 11, 12 and 13).

It may be seen that school enrollment has increased appreciably at all levels, although much more rapidly at the secondary and higher than at the primary level. This indicates the direction in which governments have channelled their efforts to improve the educational sector in response to heavy social pressure, particularly from the middle and upper sectors. This orientation underlines what was stated in the introduction: so long as the objective of eliminating illiteracy and providing primary education for all members of the society is not achieved, the high growth of the secondary and upper levels represents a deviation from the equitable pattern of providing education for all. 9/

As regards the access of women to the different educational levels, they are clearly at a disadvantage only at the higher level. But since the enrollment of women in universities is growing rapidly, more so than male enrollment, this disadvantage should be decreasing. It should be asked, however, whether the aim at this level is to arrive at equal percentages of men and women with higher education or to achieve an equitable distribution of this scarce and expensive resource in keeping with an educational policy linked to national development.

9/ In the Statistical Yearbook, UNESCO provides information on the educational budget and the amounts devoted to each level which shows a considerable distortion in the allocation of resources along the lines indicated.

Table 10

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (EIGHTY-ONE COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE STUDENTS BY DISCIPLINE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Country	General total		Letters	Education	Fine arts	Law	Social sciences	Exact and natural sciences	Engineering sciences	Medical sciences	Agriculture
	1960	1970									
Argentina	38.1	48.7	65.8a/	...	44.7	...b/	32.6	31.4	4.2	39.9	13.2
Barbados	41.8	45.7	46.8	55.9	-	23.0	-	25.7	-	-	-
Bolivia	26.2c/	28.3	56.1	68.2	25.5	21.5	4.5	1.6	27.8	10.1	11.4
Brazil	28.1	37.7	72.5	76.9	40.6	24.5	31.2	37.4	3.8	31.4	9.2
Colombia	18.8	33.3	31.4	49.3	26.1	19.3	25.6	20.2	3.4	43.7	8.3
Costa Rica	46.1	41.8	35.4	68.4	38.8	11.7	19.6	36.2	0.0	46.7	2.2
Cuba	37.9	40.0	65.0	65.0	44.4	45.2	40.6	44.7	19.1	46.3	25.7
Chile	36.8	38.4	57.0	60.8	45.4	25.2	37.6	31.4	5.7	60.3	13.4
Ecuador	18.6	28.1	48.8	60.1	10.9	11.2	30.1	7.9	4.4	28.5	5.3
El Salvador	15.7										
Guatemala	12.7d/	18.6	51.5e/	...	13.6	14.6	17.3	66.1	2.6	12.1	3.1
Guyana	17.7	19.6	31.2	36.4	-	14.3	15.4	19.8	1.7	33.3	
Haiti	11.5	11.3	0.0	6.3	-	7.8	11.3	-	4.0	19.1	9.5
Honduras	14.6										
Mexico	17.5	18.5	49.8	59.2	9.9	13.6	17.5	40.6	3.2	24.0	3.8
Nicaragua	21.9	30.7	46.5f/	...	...g/	21.6	20.4	21.4	5.2h/	41.3	1.5
Panama	-	46.1	68.7i/	...	18.9	14.9	46.6	42.4	5.1	36.4	5.4
Paraguay	31.7	42.1	71.3	83.5	50.2	26.4	21.0	64.1j/	6.4	34.2	9.8
Peru	25.5k/	34.8	34.3	50.3	20.6	13.0	26.1	19.6	2.4	33.3	5.9
Dominican Republic	24.4	42.5	50.2								
Trinidad and Tobago	-	36.1	46.4	55.8	-	26.3	21.3	32.9	1.5	-	13.5
Uruguay	-	40.4	65.7	-l/	34.5	45.3	36.8	33.1	6.9	45.8	14.9
Venezuela	31.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1972 and 1975.

Notes: This is an extension of the table prepared by Marshall Wolfe in "La participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina", CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico City, 1975, pp. 16-17.
The following classification is given there:

Letters: Archaeology, History, Languages, Literature, Library Science, Philosophy, Psychology, Theology, etc.

Education: Theory and practice of pedagogy (including topics studied in higher teacher-training establishments), Physical Education.

Fine Arts: Architecture, Drawing, Music, Painting, Dramatic Arts and Speech, etc.

Social Sciences: Banking, Commerce, Diplomacy, Economics, Ethnology, Geography, Home Economics, International Relations, Journalism, Political Science, Public Administration, Social Sciences, Sociology, Statistics, etc.

Exact and Natural Sciences: Astronomy, Bacteriology, Biochemistry, Biology, Botany, Chemistry, Entomology, Geology, Geophysics, Mathematics, Meteorology, Mineralogy, Physics, Zoology, etc.

Engineering: Applied Sciences, Construction, Geodesics, Metallurgy, Mining, Prospecting, Technology, Textiles, etc.

Medical Sciences: Anatomy, Dentistry, Medicines, Obstetrics, Nursing, Optometry, Osteopathy, Pharmacy, Physiotherapy, Public Health, etc.

Agriculture: Agronomy, Dairy Industry, Fishery, Forestry, Horticulture, Rural Sciences, Veterinary medicine, etc.

a/ Education included in Letters.
b/ Social Sciences and Law grouped together.
c/ Excluding private university education which started in 1966.
d/ San Carlos University only.
e/ Architecture included in Engineering.
f/ Pharmacy included in Natural Sciences.
g/ Education not included in the higher level education.

Table 11

LATIN AMERICA: INDEX OF GROWTH OF ENROLMENT, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX, 1960-1972

(1960 = 100)

Year	Total		Primary level		Secondary level		Higher level	
	Men and women	Women	Men and women	Women	Men and women	Women	Men and women	Women
1960	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
1965	135	135	129	129	169	172	161	176
1970	179	179	164	163	266	273	283	335
1971	191	190	173	171	292	301	338	419
1972	203	202	180	179	331	340	386	497

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1974.

Table 12

LATIN AMERICA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT,
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND SEX, 1960-1972

Year	Total enrolment				Female enrolment			
	Total	Level			Total	Level		
		1	2	3		1	2	3
1960	100.0	85.3	12.9	1.8	100.0	86.4	12.5	1.1
1965	100.0	81.7	16.1	2.2	100.0	82.6	16.0	1.4
1970	100.0	77.9	19.2	2.9	100.0	78.8	19.1	2.1
1971	100.0	77.1	19.7	3.2	100.0	77.6	19.9	2.5
1972	100.0	75.6	21.0	3.4	100.0	76.2	21.0	2.8

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1974.

Table 13

LATIN AMERICA: FEMALE ENROLMENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLMENT
BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, 1960-1974

	Level		
	1	2	3
1960	46	47	38
1965	45	46	35
1970	45	46	35
1974	45	46	39
Percentage of growth			
1960-1965	5.4	11.3	11.7
1965-1974	4.9	5.4	13.1

Source: UNESCO, Statistical Yearbook, 1976.

3. Co-education

Another of the objectives clearly set forth in the Plan is the need to establish co-education, which is considered a means of modifying relationships between men and women, and thus as an instrument for changing the stereotypes concerning what men and women are and what they should do.

The material available for assessing the degree to which this objective has been attained is the information provided by governments in replying to the questionnaire on the implementation of the Plan.

In this connexion, it should be pointed out that not all the countries which sent back the questionnaire dealt with co-education. Bearing in mind the rather scanty basic information on which these statements are founded, it may be said that at the legislative level some countries established co-education at the primary level in the mid-1940s and others - the great majority - more recently. Co-education at the secondary level exists in some countries and only in some of their educational establishments. At the higher level, education has traditionally been mixed, and the only innovation is that admission is not conditioned on grounds of sex.

There are still some segregated primary schools, mainly of a private nature and particularly for girls.

4. Content of education

It should be noted that only the content of the education given by the educational system will be discussed here. In other words, nothing will be said about incidental education or the socialization process which takes place through the daily interaction of countless agents outside the educational establishment. 10/

10/ It should be stressed that incidental education or socialization has not been dealt with purely for pragmatic reasons - lack of suitable data and time to deal with so complex a topic. In view of its crucial importance as a process which shapes attitudes and behaviour, it is recommended that the necessary studies should be undertaken immediately so that the topic can be included in the next appraisal. Similar considerations hold for informal education programmes. The usefulness of such programmes lies in the fact that they can achieve great results in a relatively short period of time.

With these reservations, it is necessary to define what is meant by the term "content of education". Here the expression covers the following: the content of the curriculum, the textbooks used, the concepts, images and ideas contained in the teaching material and the treatment on the part of the teacher which tends to reinforce or suppress psychological traits, attitudes and preferences on the part of the pupils. Despite the importance of each of these topics, very littly background research exists.

The curricular content and textbooks used in primary education are the same for men and women. The texts, primarily readers, show women in the role of housewife and mother, as a passive person without any capacity to make decisions. 11/ If she is gainfully employed, she appears in jobs consistent with the female stereotype: secretarial work, domestic service, fashion, nursing, teaching, hairdressing. 12/ If the textbooks present women in this light, it may be assumed that implicitly they are teaching that these are the characteristics women can and should have, as well as the jobs they can and should do.

As regards treatment by teachers, it appears that women are encouraged to adopt a passive attitude, while men are allowed greater independence. These two features tend to reinforce and reproduce sexual stereotypes and thus the educational system helps to maintain the present division of sexual roles.

As regards career choice, in secondary education women are primarily guided towards technical education. Technical secondary schooling is selective, and there are different possibilities for men -particularly in the industrial and agricultural branches- and women -fashion, hairdressing, secretarial skills.

11/ Elba Barreto and Guiomar Lello, "A mulher e o Sistema de Educacao Formal", paper presented at the Primer Simposio Mexicano-Centroamericano de Investigación sobre la Mujer, Mexico City, 7-9 November 1977.

12/ Mirta González, "La educación formal como modeladora de actitudes en relación a la división del trabajo por sexo", paper presented at the Primer Simposio Mexicano-Centroamericano de Investigación sobre la Mujer, Mexico, City, 7-9 November 1977.

As regards higher education, it has already been stated that women enroll much more in some disciplines than in others (see table 10), which is logical enough bearing in mind the content of the education they have received from their primary school days, a content which is entirely in keeping in its intentions, with the careers they subsequently choose.

B. THE SITUATION SINCE 1975

It is worth making a cursory description of events in the region in the 1970s. 13/ After the high economic growth rates achieved in the early years of the decade, there has been since 1974 a period of deteriorating terms of trade, more severe problems in servicing the external debt, etc., all of which has cut back the resources available to governments and led them to adopt austerity policies. In particular, there has been an interruption of the rapid growth of enrollment in higher education and social programmes - in this case, education - have been subordinated to criteria of efficiency and self-financing. This is the context in which events as regards the educational situation of women must be viewed.

The data for studying this situation are those provided by the governments in replying to the questionnaire on the progress achieved in the implementation of the measures set forth in the Plan. As was pointed out above, the type and quality of information provided by the countries which answered the questionnaire vary considerably; therefore, the empirical basis for describing what has happened is unsatisfactory and this hinders an appraisal of the progress achieved.

The elimination of illiteracy is a prime concern of the governments of the region. To this end they have undertaken special adult education programmes, accelerated literacy programmes and so on. Nevertheless, the results achieved are relatively modest and, as was seen above, much remains to be done in a number of countries.

It should be stressed that none of the countries has official programmes specially for women. While some countries have special programmes which provide facilities for workers, housewives and adults in general to complete their primary education, except for the cases of programmes aimed at housewives, there are no special programmes for women.

13/ See CEPAL, Desarrollo y Cambio Social en América Latina, Cuadernos de la CEPAL, Nº 16, Santiago, 1977 pp. 51-53

Primary education is free and in some countries legally compulsory. In practice however, this legislation is not suitably applied in some countries.

Little can be said about secondary and university education, which may be seen as an indication of the fact that specific measures have not been taken on behalf of women.

As far as co-education is concerned, it would appear that the countries which did not previously possess it introduced it from this period onwards. However, it prevails at the primary level and is applied principally in the schools belonging to the public sector. Some of the private schools tend to continue to be segregated by sex. At the secondary level, co-educational instruction is provided only in some of the establishments, generally those founded recently.

Schoolbook content is being revised, and some governments plan to eliminate references which imply discrimination between the sexes.

In short, one may observe in the region a wish to improve and extend the coverage of the educational system, and this has meant substantial progress. However, the changes are being introduced slowly and, in general, the qualitative aspects of the content of the instruction provided are passed over. Accordingly, it is of interest to emphasize that, by transmitting content which corresponds with sexual stereotypes, education is one of the means by which the existing situation is maintained; in addition, it should be borne in mind that if this content were altered, education might be a powerful instrument for changing the status of women.

C. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS

It is of interest to emphasize which are - and which are likely to be in the 1980s - the principal educational problems affecting women. The first noteworthy point is that, whatever aspects are analysed, the greatest differences detrimental to women occur in the countries with the lowest educational levels.

The aspects of the educational system are briefly reviewed below, highlighting the specific problems of each of them, particularly as regards the status of women.

It would seem that illiteracy is no longer a serious problem in the countries of type 1 (see table 2). In the type 2 and type 3 countries, it will continue affecting a substantial proportion of the population, particularly women in rural areas .

Although the coverage of primary education has been extended and the enrollment rates achieved give grounds for optimism, several decades are still needed to achieve the objective that the entire population should complete at least basic education. At this level there are no marked differences based on the sex of the child, but differences do occur based on areas of residence, and special attention is needed for rural areas, which are the ones that lag behind. Primary education provided by government establishments is free. However, it is not sufficient to ensure total coverage, which, as will be remembered, depends on two types of factors. On the one hand, parents in low socioeconomic strata cannot afford to send their children to school, and do not see in education a real opportunity for economic benefit and social mobility. On the other hand stand the shortcomings of the educational system, the principal symptoms of which are the high number of children who have to retake a year and the high drop-out rate.

The implicit content of education is most important at the primary level, because what is learned at that age determines which features will stand out and which will be discouraged in the child's personality. In addition, the aspirations and attitudes generated here tend to persist to a large extent. Hence the importance both of the content of the reading books and of the approach of the teacher. Unfortunately, both are discriminatory vis-a-vis both the image of women and the choices to which they guide them. The result is a strengthening of the negative stereotype of women. This problem, which would be relatively easy to solve, has not been faced up to directly, because it involves a redefinition of key features of society, such as the form of the division of labour as far as the sexes are concerned, the resulting relations of economic interdependence between man and women in the home and in society and, more generally, the prevailing structure of domination, the redefinition of these features is a task which provokes substantial resistance and fear.

The secondary level presents no major problems, since its coverage of women is expanding at a satisfactory rate, and in general women are not discriminated against. What does give rise to some doubt is the fact that specialization by women is restricted to learning certain middle-level occupations and technical careers.

Discrimination against women is greatest in higher education. Nevertheless, and in view of the rate of increase in female enrollment, which is higher than that of men, this discrimination seems to be lessening. However, there is still a specialization by careers which follows the general lines laid down by sex stereotypes, but which also seems to be declining.

It should be mentioned that, although it is possible to observe a tendency for women to be guaranteed increasingly fuller access to the secondary and higher levels of education, a movement towards egalitarian access (in the literal sense of distribution by halves) is not the same as a movement towards equitable access. It should be remembered that education has a dual function - to develop a person's intellectual capacities to the maximun and to train human resources qualified to produce and manage society properly.

It is usually said that women underuse the knowledge they acquire in the educational system, in the sense that many women make no use of it in the labour market. This judgement disregards the fact that education also performs the function of developing the intelectual capacities, which women use in daily life to understand the circumstances in which they live, to draw maximum benefit from the resources available to the family - nutritive foods, environmental conditions which promote health and psychological balance among its members - to make use of the welfare services provided by society and to socialize their children so as to develop their potential to the maximum.

This leads one to ask whether the education provided is appropriate to the need to train persons who are intellectually developed and human resources qualified for the living conditions they will have to face. Thus the quality and content of instruction becomes a problen which goes beyond the sphere of education, since it is vital from the economic and social viewpoint, in terms of the productive needs and social roles which it must fulfil.

Thus arises the question of what education must transmit, or more precisely what knowledge should be imparted to transform individuals into persons who are capable of understanding the circumstances in which they live. What knowledge should be imparted to all, and what should be included only in individualized programmes? It should be reiterated that the aim of education should be to ensure that everyone is an intellectually developed person, possesses basic knowledge for life and is a human resource qualified for an economically and socially productive existence. In other words, the education received should be equitable for all: the one hand, it should form all-round human beings, and on the other, it should train all types of workers according to their particular forms of work. It should be remembered that this makes it difficult to achieve a balance between equality of opportuni ty for all and a specialization which is efficient for society.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

This section sums up the foregoing as a foundation for outlining a group of problems and actions related to concrete action programmes, research which is necessary for the improvement of subsequent evaluations , the assessment of available sources of information and the additional information which is needed.

If it is remembered, firstly, that the greatest differences to the detriment of women may be observed in the countries with the least favourable educational conditions, and, secondly, that most of the countries of the region have neither increased nor properly distributed their financial resources for education, it will be clear that it is necessary to establish policies and define some high-priority substantive aspects where action should be concentrated and resources channelled to promote the advancement of the least favoured groups.

In stating that basic education is the right of all human beings, the Regional Plan of Action justifies the priority given to the eradication of illiteracy and to primary education for all. The information provided makes it possible to establish where literacy campaigns are needed most urgently, and in which of these situations special emphasis should be given to attracting the female population, which is not being done at present. In all the countries, special attention should be given to the rural areas, since it is there that there is most illiteracy.

As far as primary education is concerned, it is recommended that measures should be taken to:

(a) Extend its coverage, without the need to place special emphasis on action in favour of women, except in particular cases which each government should consider. Since in most of the countries enrollment stands at adequate levels, the action should be aimed in particular at facilitating the integration of young adults so that they can complete the primary cycle through special programmes, and at lowering the drop-out rate by extending the period spent in school until the completion of this basic cycle.

(b) Guarantee real opportunities for gaining access to and remaining in the educational system for children from the poorest strata; this implies that the family should enjoy the economic resources necessary to manage without the labour of the child, and to clothe and feed him properly. The school should make up the shortcomings observed in these respects.

(c) Review the present teaching arrangements so as to increase the productivity of the school system. This requires: (i) adjusting the requirements of the educational process, especially in the first year of study, to the real learning abilities of the children. Thus, for example, it cannot be assumed that those who have not consulted the pre-school level have had an opportunity to develop the verbal and conceptual skills needed to learn to read and write; (ii) making it clear, especially in rural areas, that the main benefit of primary education is the development of the child's intellectual capacity, which enables him to understand better the world in which he lives. Making it clear, at the same time, that this level has no direct economic benefit or any major impact on nor future social mobility; (iii) defining in accordance with highly abundant existing technical materials, the objectives which should be pursued at this level of education and the type of instruction to be provided. It will be enough to mention here that the major requirement of basic education is that it should be significant both for the fulfilment of the individual and for meeting the demands of the social context in which he will live.

(d) Eliminate content which discriminates against women, both in the textbooks and in the interaction between the teacher and the schoolchild. In relation to this subject, there are varios actions to be taken: (i) to investigate and assess the content at present being transmitted through the educational relationship; (ii) to prepare appropriate texts; (iii) to investigate and assess the behaviour and attitudes which the teachers reinforce in their male and female pupils; (iv) to plan seminars for teachers to make them aware of the content transmitted through interaction with the pupils, analyse the results of this terms of sex discrimination and ensure that they draw up guidelines which lay down which behaviour and activities should be reinforced and how this is to be done.

(e) Continue to introduce co-education, extending it to schools in the private sector and to the secondary level.

At the secondary level, it is recommended that existing technical and vocational training programmes should be revised so as to reconcile the demands of the labour market with the need to provide knowledge which is useful to the individual in his adult life and with the principle of non-discrimination between the sexes.

Both for the secondary and for the higher levels, it is recommended that the objectives to be pursued at

each level should be specified, and that, therefore what is involved in equitable access for women should also be specified. For this purpose, it is necessary to bear in mind that education should be, firstly, a means of giving students of both sexes equal opportunities for any type of work and, secondly, a means of providing them with the knowledge required to work satisfactorily in their daily lives and thus contribute to greater efficiency in social life , and help to facilitate the development of their potentiatilities and contribute to their fulfilment as individuals. It is worth mentioning, in passing, that these objectives have not been reached in contemporary society either for men or for women and that, for that reason, they are doubly important.

Finally, some suggestions are made relating to the appraisal of progress achieved in the implementation of the Regional Plan of Action.

Census information and educational statistics provide a general view of women's circumstances in the region and within each country, and thus make it possible to compare their status with that of men. However, the assessing unit has no updated information for all the countries. Hence it is recommended that governments should:

(a) Dispatch the information, including both the statistical data gathered periodically by the respective Ministries of Education and the additional information derived from surveys and research.

(b) Compile information or carry out research concerning certain subjects on which knowledge is scanty, namely: dropping out, teaching methods and content of texts.

(c) Consider the desirability of using a different design for carrying out the assessment. It may be desirable to choose one which does not consider women as a statistical and nominal category, but studies particular types of women in concrete situations - for example, working women, peasant housewives, professional women require a prior definition of specific underprivileged groups. It is also suggested that substantive aspects should be defined which should be studied in relation to these groups, and in particular those which are related to their structural situation and the factors associated with the greater deprivation and shortages which affect them.

ANNEX I

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: GROSS SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATES, BY LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION AND SEX: EVOLUTION AND PROJECTIONS, 1975 and 1980

(Percentages)

Country	Year	First level		Second level		Third level		Total	
		Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Argentina	1975	127	126	46	49	25	28	97	80
	1980	127	127	54	57	28	28	71	73
Barbados	1975	97	99	78	81	6	7	83	86
	1980	104	105	84	89	6	7	84	88
Bolivia	1975	102	92	18	16	8	5	68	57
	1980	111	102	21	19	9	6	58	49
Brazil	1975	116	116	13	13	9	8	38	38
	1980	126	126	16	17	13	13	38	38
Colombia	1975	87	88	37	38	6	5	49	49
	1980	95	96	46	47	9	5	55	56
Costa Rica	1975	109	109	36	38	15	22	57	59
	1980	113	112	43	42	16	16	59	58
Cuba	1975	125	120	46	46	9	7	80	80
	1980	122	120	69	68	20	15	75	72
Chile	1975	140	138	31	34	13	12	72	72
	1980	137	136	38	41	13	12	70	70
Ecuador	1975	101	98	38	36	14	9	58	55
	1980	106	105	46	45	27	17	65	62
El Salvador	1975	103	100	9	8	6	4	47	45
	1980	114	113	13	12	10	8	52	50
Guatemala	1975	68	58	13	12	4	2	33	29
	1980	70	64	18	15	5	3	35	31
Guyana	1975	98	98	56	56	4	3	56	56
	1980	105	104	61	62	6	5	60	58
Haiti	1975	32	46	8	5	0.4	0.1	22	19
	1980	35	48	10	6	1	0.1	24	20
Honduras	1975	89	87	17	16	4	3	44	42
	1980	94	94	21	20	7	5	48	47
Jamaica	1975	98	98	66	71	5	4	66	68
	1980	102	103	68	72	6	6	64	66
Mexico	1975	112	109	35	28	8	4	58	54
	1980	116	114	45	41	11	7	65	62
Nicaragua	1975	82	84	21	21	7	5	47	47
	1980	90	92	25	25	10	7	47	47
Panama	1975	104	100	33	32	14	14	71	71
	1980	130	126	66	68	20	21	77	77
Paraguay	1975	98	95	20	20	3	4	47	45
	1980	103	100	23	23	7	6	50	48
Peru	1975	116	123	46	38	11	7	68	60
	1980	130	134	54	47	13	13	70	70
Dominican Republic	1975	108	109	25	25	8	7	54	54
	1980	115	114	31	32	11	10	60	60
Trinidad and Tobago	1975	93	93	34	33	3	2	47	47
	1980	99	101	35	32	3	2	46	45
Uruguay	1975	98	98	59	62	11	10	55	58
	1980	91	91	58	60	12	11	54	55
Venezuela	1975	99	100	38	38	15	13	39	36
	1980	107	108	42	44	17	14	38	39

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/REDUC.AC/Doc.6, January 1979.

Note: The gross schooling attendance rate is obtained by dividing total enrolment in the level of instruction in question - whatever the age of the pupils - by the population of the age groups 6-11 (first level), 12-17 (second level) and 18-25 (third level).

Annex II

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATES BY AGE GROUPS AND BY SEX, EVOLUTION AND PROJECTIONS, 1975 AND 1980 a/

Country	Year	6-11		12-17		18-23		6-23	
		Both sexes	Female	Both sexes	Female	Both sexes	Female	Both sexes	Female
Argentina	1975	100.0	100.0	68.4	69.0	29.4	30.3	68.4	69.1
	1980	99.0	100.0	70.7	73.4	34.7	37.3	70.9	73.1
Barbados	1975	94.3	94.3	82.1	83.7	7.6	6.3	75.7	76.5
	1980	98.5	98.6	85.2	86.9	8.8	8.0	76.9	78.7
Bolivia	1975	70.3	64.7	46.9	41.7	14.6	10.6	47.5	41.9
	1980	76.6	72.2	54.2	48.1	17.1	13.9	52.7	47.8
Brazil	1975	70.1	71.1	35.1	32.5	23.3	23.9	41.3	39.7
	1980	76.8	77.4	38.6	38.0	22.0	22.8	43.0	42.4
Colombia	1975	64.3	67.1	37.0	37.0	14.3	12.3	43.2	43.4
	1980	70.0	73.2	43.8	45.4	18.9	17.9	48.1	48.3
Costa Rica	1975	94.3	95.1	49.9	50.2	15.7	14.2	56.8	56.4
	1980	97.3	97.7	54.7	55.5	21.4	19.8	59.4	59.1
Cuba	1975	100.0	100.0	71.1	66.6	15.7	11.6	68.3	64.3
	1980	100.0	100.0	83.4	81.9	28.9	28.1	74.6	72.8
Chile	1975	100.0	100.0	85.2	85.1	28.7	29.0	72.0	71.7
	1980	100.0	100.0	86.5	86.9	22.2	21.8	70.3	70.2
Ecuador	1975	76.0	75.5	55.7	54.0	28.1	24.3	54.7	53.3
	1980	80.0	80.0	63.8	58.6	45.7	34.2	64.1	60.9
El Salvador	1975	61.2	63.7	49.4	44.9	18.4	13.6	47.1	43.2
	1980	66.2	70.7	58.1	54.7	18.9	15.9	51.8	50.3
Guatemala	1975	46.0	44.8	26.5	24.5	8.1	4.8	30.5	27.0
	1980	55.3	53.1	33.8	29.6	10.1	6.2	34.8	31.8
Guyana	1975	83.8	84.1	61.5	69.9	8.7	6.6	55.7	59.0
	1980	95.6	95.9	65.9	68.1	10.9	8.6	58.6	59.0
Haiti	1975	28.0	24.4	19.6	15.9	3.5	1.5	22.3	18.3
	1980	41.4	36.9	21.9	17.6	4.3	1.8	25.9	19.7
Honduras	1975	67.0	66.0	35.8	32.9	10.3	7.4	43.5	40.2
	1980	71.5	71.2	44.7	44.1	14.8	11.1	48.3	47.3
Jamaica	1975	90.5	91.6	68.3	70.2	12.4	12.8	66.1	68.3
	1980	94.8	96.1	71.6	74.8	10.4	10.5	69.4	72.4
Mexico	1975	89.2	88.6	57.9	49.1	13.6	8.4	58.6	54.7
	1980	94.2	93.9	69.3	62.0	18.2	13.1	64.7	58.4
Nicaragua	1975	58.7	57.1	47.3	46.3	14.9	11.6	43.1	41.9
	1980	60.6	62.4	55.7	54.9	18.6	14.8	47.3	47.3
Panama	1975	94.4	94.1	71.2	70.4	34.1	34.9	70.3	70.4
	1980	95.7	96.0	83.2	82.4	45.5	44.2	76.7	76.3
Paraguay	1975	74.6	74.1	45.2	40.9	10.1	9.6	47.3	45.1
	1980	77.6	77.7	48.5	44.6	11.9	11.3	49.9	48.1
Peru	1975	86.7	88.8	73.6	69.7	32.3	29.5	65.3	63.7
	1980	85.9	89.0	84.0	78.1	32.6	34.7	70.0	72.2
Dominican Republic	1975	76.9	78.6	35.8	35.0	16.7	14.8	34.2	33.0
	1980	82.2	84.0	44.4	45.0	20.6	18.4	40.0	40.9
Trinidad and Tobago	1975	75.1	74.2	49.7	48.0	8.1	7.2	47.3	45.9
	1980	77.3	80.6	47.6	46.3	7.6	7.1	44.7	43.9
Uruguay	1975	68.3	68.8	70.9	74.9	23.0	21.9	56.3	58.2
	1980	68.1	68.7	67.2	71.2	24.3	22.9	54.0	56.4
Venezuela	1975	77.6	77.4	56.4	52.8	22.0	19.1	54.9	52.4
	1980	89.2	88.4	60.9	63.6	24.0	23.4	58.5	58.8

Source: UNESCO, Evaluación cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrículas de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/REDUC/PRE/6, January 1979.

a/ These rates were obtained by dividing school enrolment in the age group in question by the population of the same age groups, ignoring the level of instruction. Consequently the rates should not be interpreted as indicating the instruction provided in the first, second and third levels.

Annex III

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: POPULATION AGED 6-11 WITH NO EDUCATION, BY SEX AND GROUP OF COUNTRIES, 1960 AND 1976

	Region		
	Both sexes	Male	Female
Total population in the 6-11 age group			
1960	33 656.0	16 969.0	16 687.0
1976	52 288.0	26 466.0	25 822.0
Increase in the population in the 6-11 age group, 1960-1976			
Absolute	18 632.0	9 498.0	9 134.0
Percentage	55.4	56.0	54.7
Population aged 6-11 with no education			
1960	14 359.0	7 144.0	7 215.0
1976	11 326.0	5 919.0	5 407.0
Increase in the population aged 6-11 with no education, 1960-1976			
Absolute	-3 033.0	-1 225.0	-1 808.0
Percentage	-21.1	-17.1	-25.1
Percentages of the population aged 6-11 with no education			
1960	42.7	42.1	43.2
1976	21.7	22.4	20.9
Decline (percentage points)	21.0	19.7	22.3

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/REDALC/PRE/6, January 1979.

Annex IV

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: GROSS SCHOOL ATTENDANCE
IN FIRST-LEVEL INSTITUTIONS, 1970-1995

Country	Both sexes			Male		Female	
	1970	1995	Increase	1970	1995	1970	1995
Group I	119.7	122.7	4.0	119.8	122.0	119.6	123.5
Panama	103.4	125.6	22.2	105.6	128.1	101.1	123.0
Cuba	119.4	121.9	2.5	120.4	125.1	118.3	118.6
Chile	140.0	137.4	-2.6	140.3	136.8	139.6	138.0
Argentina	125.7	126.9	1.2	122.6	126.9	128.7	126.8
Peru	113.5	116.8	3.3	122.0	106.9	105.0	125.3
Jamaica	100.0	96.8	-3.2	98.7	96.8	101.3	97.7
Mexico	104.4	115.9	11.5	105.6	117.3	103.1	114.2
Group II	98.8	110.3	11.5	98.3	109.3	99.3	111.6
Barbados	103.4	104.6	1.2	104.1	105.3	102.6	103.9
Ecuador	97.0	102.2	5.2	98.9	103.9	95.2	99.5
Guyana	98.0	99.2	1.2	98.7	99.9	97.3	98.5
Costa Rica	109.6	110.9	1.3	110.3	111.4	108.9	110.3
Venezuela	92.1	103.0	11.0	93.3	103.5	91.0	102.5
Dominican Republic	98.1	109.6	11.5	97.3	109.7	98.8	109.4
Uruguay	105.7	91.3	-14.4	108.3	93.9	103.9	90.8
Brazil	103.2	117.8	14.6	105.1	117.4	101.3	118.3
Colombia	84.3	88.7	4.4	82.7	86.0	86.1	91.5
Group III	77.3	89.8	7.1	93.3	99.0	71.6	80.1
Bolivia	86.3	105.3	19.0	103.4	114.6	73.8	95.8
El Salvador	91.2	107.3	16.1	95.4	109.1	87.0	105.5
Paraguay	106.4	108.2	1.8	111.0	103.8	101.9	95.3
Trinidad and Tobago	97.0	93.7	-3.3	97.3	98.5	96.5	89.0
Honduras	88.6	88.0	-0.6	95.2	89.7	89.1	86.1
Nicaragua	85.1	83.6	3.5	79.0	81.8	91.3	85.3
Guatemala	56.9	64.3	7.4	66.3	68.7	51.3	59.9
Haiti	46.9	50.7	3.8	54.2	56.7	43.4	47.3
Region	100.0	111.7	9.7	105.3	111.0	100.6	112.6

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/PEEALC/92/10, January 1992.

Annex V

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: GROSS ATTENDANCE RATES IN SECOND-LEVEL INSTRUCTION, 1970-1976

Country	Both sexes			Male		Female	
	1970	1976	Increase	1970	1976	1970	1976
Group I	39.8	49.1	14.1	39.4	44.2	39.6	49.2
Panama	39.9	55.2	15.3	37.7	55.2	42.3	55.4
Cuba	49.6	56.3	11.7	49.6	56.3	49.6	56.2
Chile	54.7	58.2	7.5	55.0	59.6	54.3	56.8
Argentina	37.2	47.0	9.8	34.6	43.8	39.9	50.3
Peru	36.8	51.1	14.3	40.8	55.5	32.7	46.8
Jamaica	55.0	66.3	11.3	55.4	62.0	54.6	70.7
Mexico	33.2	37.0	14.8	36.8	38.9	17.4	34.0
Group II	14.3	20.3	6.0	14.0	21.2	14.5	19.4
Barbados	80.3	77.3	-3.0	79.5	74.6	81.6	80.3
Ecuador	26.4	41.6	15.2	28.7	45.5	24.0	38.7
Guyana	55.4	60.1	4.7	54.9	59.9	55.9	60.4
Costa Rica	25.4	36.4	11.0	22.6	34.2	28.3	38.7
Venezuela	30.4	36.8	6.4	29.1	34.2	31.6	39.3
Dominican Republic	17.9	25.7	7.8	17.8	25.3	18.0	26.1
Uruguay	56.7	56.4	-0.3	51.1	51.9	62.6	61.1
Brazil	7.6	13.5	5.9	7.2	12.4	7.9	14.5
Colombia	25.9	36.3	15.4	24.2	36.7	25.5	40.0
Group III	12.2	15.9	3.7	12.7	17.6	11.7	14.1
Bolivia	13.6	17.1	3.5	15.4	19.3	11.7	14.9
El Salvador	7.9	9.5	1.6	7.9	10.4	8.0	8.6
Paraguay	16.4	21.0	4.6	16.4	20.8	16.4	21.2
Trinidad and Tobago	57.7	55.5	-4.2	56.7	54.1	58.7	56.9
Honduras	11.8	16.7	4.9	12.6	19.8	11.1	13.5
Nicaragua	17.6	22.7	5.1	18.4	25.3	16.7	20.0
Guatemala	10.0	15.2	5.2	11.6	17.4	8.3	13.0
Haiti	6.4	8.3	2.1	8.9	11.8	3.9	4.9
Region	19.2	24.3	10.1	20.1	26.8	18.4	21.8

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/REDUC/PRE/16, January 1979.

149

Annex VI

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GROSS ATTENDANCE RATES IN THIRD-LEVEL INSTRUCTION, BY SEX, 1970 AND 1976

Country	Male minus female	
	1970	1976
Group I	5.8	7.5
Panama	0.6	1.4
Cuba	1.2	5.6
Chile	3.5	3.3
Argentina	2.9	1.2
Peru	5.2	7.1
Jamaica	1.1	1.4
Mexico	5.5	6.4
Group II	3.7	2.7
Barbados	0.4	1.2
Ecuador	4.7	14.6
Guyana	1.8	2.8
Costa Rica	1.9	3.0
Venezuela	3.0	3.1
Dominican Republic	1.3	1.1
Uruguay	2.2	3.0
Brazil	2.0	0.9
Colombia	3.4	6.8
Group III	3.2	3.5
Bolivia	5.6	5.7
El Salvador	2.4	3.6
Paraguay	1.1	1.9
Trinidad and Tobago	1.3	1.7
Honduras	1.6	2.8
Nicaragua	3.2	3.5
Guatemala	3.4	4.2
Haiti	0.6	0.6
Region	3.3	3.7

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/REDUC/PRE/16, January 1979.

Annex VII

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: "APPARENT" PUPIL RETENTION RATES IN YEARS OF STUDY AND SEX, 1960-1964[a]

Group of countries[b]	Sex	Year of study and calendar year				
		First (1960)	Second (1961)	Third (1962)	Fourth (1963)	Fifth (1964)
Region	Both sexes	100	54	42	37	26
	Male	100	56	43	37	27
	Female	100	52	41	36	24
Group I	Both sexes	100	62	51	43	37
	Male	100	65	55	44	38
	Female	100	57	46	40	34
Group II	Both sexes	100	47	35	33	18
	Male	100	47	34	32	18
	Female	100	49	38	35	19
Group III	Both sexes	100	58	42	32	26
	Male	100	60	43	34	27
	Female	100	57	41	31	25

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/MINEDLAC/PRE/16, January 1979.

a/ For a hypothetical cohort of 100 pupils enrolled in the first year in 1960.

b/ The countries included in each group are the same as those which appear in annexes V, VI, and VII.

Annex VIII

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: "APPARENT" PUPIL RETENTION RATES BY YEARS OF STUDY AND SEX, 1970-1974a/

Group of countries b/	Sex	Year of study and calendar year				
		First (1970)	Second (1971)	Third (1972)	Fourth (1973)	Fifth (1974)
Region	Both sexes	100	64	55	47	41
	Male	100	63	54	46	41
	Female	100	65	56	48	41
Group I	Both sexes	100	74	67	60	53
	Male	100	73	65	60	53
	Female	100	75	67	60	52
Group II	Both sexes	100	57	47	39	33
	Male	100	56	46	37	34
	Female	100	59	49	41	36
Group III	Both sexes	100	65	53	43	36
	Male	100	65	53	42	36
	Female	100	66	52	44	36

Source: UNESCO, Evolución cuantitativa y proyecciones de matrícula de los sistemas educativos de América Latina y El Caribe, UNESCO/MINEDLAC/PRE/16, January 1979.

a/ For a hypothetical cohort of 100 pupils enrolled in the first year in 1970.
b/ The countries included in each group are the same as those which appear in annexes V, VI and VII.

V. WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSEWORK

A. INTRODUCTION

1. The Employment of women in relation to the objectives laid down by the Regional Plan of Action

The present study is designed to assess the present status of the employment of women in Latin America and the Caribbean. In order to do so, it is necessary to describe the prevailing situation, and then, comparing it with the desired objectives ,to determine whether it is satisfactory and, if not, in what direction it must be changed, proposing appropriate measures to modify present circumstances in the direction of the objectives.

The objectives are stated in the Regional Plan of Action, referred to below as RPA, and play a dual role: they provide the framework within which the present situation can be assessed, and they serve as a guide in selecting the variables to be studied empirically.

The RPA states that "there are real limitations to the incorporation and retention of women in work, and this hinders their participation in the political, economic and social life of their countries". 1/ From this paragraph one may deduce that work is important because it is a factor which determines participation in other fields of social action. In addition, it states that "one of the fundamental limitations on the access of women to work, education, management responsibilities and possiblities of development is the excessive work load imposed on them by the domestic tasks which are wrongly viewed as the exclusive occupation of women", 2/ and adds that "the division of work established on the basis of sex, supported by tradition and customs under the pretext of biological determinism, assigns to the man the role of supporting the home and relegates the woman to a secondary and passive role limited to the narrow confines of the home, with the sole basic purpose of maternity and child-bearing". 3/

1/ RPA, paragraph 22. E/CEPAL/1042/Rev.1 Nov. 1977
2/ Ibid., paragraph 40.
3/ Ibid., paragraph 37.

The foregoing should be considered in the light of the principle that "all human beings without distinction have the right to enjoy the fruits of social and economic progress and should, on their part, contribute to it, condemning sex discrimination as an offence against human dignity and an infringement of human rights". 4/

This is why the World Plan of Action lays down the following ambitious objective: "to define a society in which women participate in a real and full sense in economic, social and political life and to devise strategies whereby such societies could develop". 5/

Having defined the role of work in relation to equality of rights and duties between men and women, we must specify how RPA poses the problem of women in relation to employment and the measures it proposes for tackling this problem. The plan begins by pointing out the low percentage of women in the labour force, the specific forms of employment of those who are in the labour force, and the discrimination as far as a remuneration is concerned.

In order to remedy this situation, RPA proposes a group of actions which, in the light of the minimum targets adopted in the World Plan of Action, can be grouped under three headings: (a) the adoption of legislative measures and the formulation of policies designed to ensure equality of opportunity in the employment and treatment of working women - indicating, for example, the need to increase their opportunities of employment, their right to work, the application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, access to the best-paid jobs - and citing two particularly critical cases: those of rural women and domestic servants; (b) the promotion of positive attitudes towards female employment, and research into the cultural factors which lie behind sex discrimination; (c) the proper valuation of housework by demonstrating that the work of housewives has economic value and granting them due standing. Here two aspects stand out: (i) redefinition of the roles of men and women within the family, so that both have the same rights and responsabilities in it and both can assume an active role in society; (ii) study of the conditions in which women work and assessment of their economic contribution.

4/ World Plan of Action, pp. 9-10 E/CEPAL/1042/Rev.1 Nov. 1977.

5/ ibid. p 11

In short, it is clear from the provisions of both RPA and the World Plan of Action, that a study of the situation in respect of the employment of women will have to include a study of their levels of participation in the labour market and the jobs they hold, taking into account the influence of the role played by women within the family and its relationship with housework.

What has been said so far suffices to show which aspects must be described, but not to understand the social processes which lie behind the fact that women have a low level of participation in the labour force. Still less does it suffice to understand the nexus between this and their belittled role in the family and society. It should be pointed out that if these factors are not understood, it will be difficult to recommend policies which are capable of altering the situation.

Hence the need for a conceptual approach to the problem, even if it is briefly outlined. This will begin from the assumption that the employment situation of women is influenced by the way in which economic activity in the society is structured and by their role within the family which has a specific position in the social structure. The concepts and problems related to the participation of women in the work force are discussed and clarified below.

2. Conceptual clarification and problems of definition

(a) Levels at which women participate in work

The participation of women in economic activity cannot be evaluated adequately by using conventional labour force statistics. This is basically due to two factors: the way in which economic activity is defined, and the way in which it is measured.

ILO states that it is difficult to apply to the work of women the international criteria for classifying occupations, under these criteria, to be economically active, to be a worker or to be a member of the labour force means producing certain quantities of economic goods which can be traded in the market, and certain quantities of monetary income. In contrast, housework by women is not considered as work in the economic sense, and accordingly is not recorded as such in labour censuses

and statistics.6/ More specifically, the fact that activities related to housekeeping and looking after children are not regarded as economic activities makes it very difficult to grasp the real nature of the work carried out by women. To this should be added the absence of a clear-cut distinction between free time and work, economic and non-economic activity, in for example the preparation of agricultural products for family consumption, or the care of young animals destined to be sold, paid services which replace the work of the housewife and the same activities when carried out by the housewife herself.

In short, the concept used are ill-suited for recording the real contribution of women to economic activity, since their activities do not involve the production of goods which generate monetary incomes. Their productive function consists in providing services and processing goods for the everyday maintenance and reproduction of the members of their families.

This is why there is currently a proposal for a new definition of economic activity, where the fact of working or not working is defined on the basis of whether or not there is a contribution to the survival of the family group. It should be emphasized that only in this way is it possible to grasp the meaning of work by women, which in most cases is carried out within the home and for the benefit of the family itself. It is also of interest to note that there is awareness of the difficulty of defining, and still more of weighting, the contribution of domestic work, since it may consist in activities as dissimilar as the few minutes taken by a child to lay the table or the twelve or more hours a day, every day, spent by the rural housewife on activities as varied as feeding the poultry, washing clothes, cutting wood, looking after the children, going to the market, weeding the vegetable garden, and so on.

6/ International Labour Office, Woman power, the World's Female Labour Force in 1975 and the outlook for 2000 (Geneva, 1975). See also the document prepared by the consultants Zulma Recchini de Lattes and Catalina Wainerman, which includes a thorough discussion of this point.

Concerning the problems of measuring the work of woman, it should be noted that the work of the female population frequently goes unreported and/or underestimated. This happens with regard to economic production, especially in agriculture, where no account is taken of female help in the fields or the services supplied by the family of the small landowner. 7/ One writer even states that any attempt to gather information concerning women will be distorted by the cultural assumption that what she does is of secondary importance. This is reflected in the under-recording of women from birth to death, and in the undercounting of female employment. 8/

Another problem is that of women who work part-time and/or seasonally and do not declare that they are engaged in paid activities.

Finally, mention should be made of the factors which affect female participation in the labour market. These may be grouped - for purely analytical purposes, since in fact they are intermingled and reinforce one another - into societal, group and individual factors. 9/

Societal factors are characteristics of the society in which the woman lives. They include, on the one hand, the structure of production and levels of employment and, on the other, the social division of labour by sex, which defines the types of activity accepted by women and the value attached to them.

This study analyses the way in which the social division of labour by sex accounts for the way in which women work. It then presents empirical data concerning their levels of participation in economic and household activity. There is also an analysis of the

---

7/ See E. Boserup, "Employment of Women in Developing Countries", in L. Tabah, ed., Population Growth and Economic Development, (Dolhain, Odina Editions, 1975).

8/ E. Boulding, S.A Nuss, D. Lee Carson, M.A. Greenstein, Handbook of International Data on Woman (New York, John Wiley, Sage Publications, 1976).

9/ This report freely follows the approach proposed by PREALC, "La mujer y el empleo en América Latina" (Santiago, 1976) and applied in PREALC, "Participación laboral y condiciones salariales de la mujer en América Latina, Estados Unidos y Canadá" PREALC/121 (Santiago, 1978).

relationship between the country's level of development and the rates of labour participation. It is also necessary to include here aspects related to existing legislation concerning both the prohibition of discrimination and the establishment of special protection which, in some cases, acts as a brake on the recruitment of women. The latter subject will be touched on obliquely under point C.

Group factors pertaining (either to groups of which the woman is a member, or to groups which serve as a reference for her) have an influence by creating objective conditions for behaviour and by developing aspirations, expectations, orientations, appreciations and motivations to act in a given way. In this regard, social class and the family group are of special importance.

Women do not fall within the structure of production in an isolated manner, but do so through membership of a primary group, the family. Hence the importance of considering the role of women in the family and the place of the family in the social structure. The type of family, the family income, the division of tasks within the family, the area lived in and the social class are examples of elements that play a role in this regards.

Individual factors include personal characteristic of the woman, such as age, marital status, level of education. Their concrete influence will be seen when the present situation in Latin America is described.

Two factors which influence work by women - the organization of the structure of production and the family - are discussed below in some detail, in view of their particular importance.

(b) Organization of the structure of production and participation of women in work 10/

It wil suffice for the purposes of this study to mention that the politico-economic systems form the

---

10/ For a short discussion of the subject, see Eva Alterman Blay, Trabahlo Domesticado: A mulher na industria Paulista (Sao Paulo, Edit. Atica. 1978), especially pp. 29.to 42. Carlos Borsotti, "Situación de la Mujer y Desarrollo : Acotaciones " in Paz Covarrubias and Rolando Franco, Chile : Mujer y Sociedad (Santiago, Alfabeta, 1978). Irma Arriagada and Johanna Noordam, "Primer Simposio Mexicano-Centroamericano de Investigación sobre la Mujer. Análisis de las principales proposiciones, y bibliografía comentada", (CEPAL, Santiago, 1978) (typescript)

more general framework which defines the objectives and the role of the structure of production and its links with the forms of political organization.

The characteristics of the structure of production are determined by the stage of development attained by the various branches of economic activity and by the division of tasks which constitutes the occupational structure. This delimits the possibilities of work open to the members of a given society. However, a parallel factor is the division of labour, which imposes a hierarchy among the various tasks and the work opportunities socially accepted for the different categories of individual; in other words, it provides a social guarantee that certain categories of individuals will undertake certain tasks, on the basis of a value judgement concerning their non-technical skills.

In short, the technical criteria for the division of labour - a division by branches of activity and a division of tasks into posts - are associated with hierarchical social relationships and judgements concerning which persons are socially suited to carry out specific tasks. The social division of labour uses sex as one of the principal criteria for drawing distinctions. 11/

The origin of the connexion between the social division of labour and differentiation of tasks by sex is a rather controversial subject, whose origins date back to the unknown roots of mankind. It is assumed that the social division of labour by sex is based on the differentiation between reproductive work and productive work, with former being allocated basically to women and the latter to men. It is also related to the distinction between domestic work and economic work; nevertheless, since as societies develop there is a certain tendency for productive work to become socialized and for reproductive work to maintain its domestic character, the former distinction will be preferred.

The differentiation between productive and reproductive work and their allocation to men and women respectively may be accounted for by relating it to the fact that women have the biological function of bearing children, nursing them and caring for them: meanwhile, men seek sustenance for both mother and children. Therefore it is taken for granted that generational

---

11/ Others include access to knowledge, the predominance of strength or intellect, ownership of means of production and social class.

reproduction is associated with a wide range of tasks in processing goods and providing services for the daily maintenance of the members of the family and the generational reproduction of the members of society.

Up to this point there would seem to be a division of tasks where women specialize in the activities corresponding to the reproduction of the human world, and men in those related to the production of the world of productive goods and services. However, in addition the activities which fall to women are not compensated by money, prestige, knowledge, or power, whereas male activities are the means of securing the greatest social gratification - leadership, wealth and monetary income, prestige. 12/ In this way, a differential evaluation is added to the differentiation in tasks and specialization by sex. And what was a complementary relationship becomes, in addition, a hierachical one.

The fact that different tasks are allocated to men and women means that they have different positions in work. Women are entrusted with maintaining and looking after the home and bringing up the children, which, in most cases, means that they will work exclusively as housewives. Men are entrusted with carrying out what are known as economic activities.

Accordingly, behind women's participation in work stands the complex network of social relationships and norms which mould the social division of labour. At the same time there is a set of ideas which give these institutional arrangements the status of "natural" facts. This group of ideas ranges from relatively well developed formulations to male and female stereotypes which define the specific features of each sex.

It is also of interest to note that each type of task allocated to the sexes requires different psychological characteristics in order to ensure the existence of individuals with the appropriate characteristics to carry out these tasks properly, they are socialized in such a way that they manifest these charachteristics and wish to perform the tasks which society defines as appropriate for them. 13/

12/ Jorge Graciarena, "Notas sobre el problema de la desigualdad sexual en sociedades de clase" in CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina (Fondo de Cultura Económica, Mexico, 1975)

13/ Graciarena, op.cit.

Sexual stereotypes are a simplified version of the set of tasks to be prescribed for each sex. In general it may be said that the female stereotype comprises the features suited to the affective function (sensitive, emotional) and that of looking after the home (patient, resigned, and so on); the male stereotype includes those which are relevant for maximum performance in the task of production (innovative, competitive, calculating, and so on). These examples are merely illustrative, since the specific content of stereotypes varies from one culture to another. Indeed, one of the present features is that they are being changed by various factors, including women's access to education, their integration in the labour market, egalitarian ideologies and social movements which publicly question them. At all events, whatever their specific content, their importance lies in the fact that stereotypes are transmitted and that individuals internalize their content, making it part of their self-image and a guide for their behaviour, thus closing the circle which tends to maintain the status quo.

A difference way of looking at the matter involves estimating the significance of the contribution provided to society by the woman through her work Leaving aside the most obvious contribution of reproductive work - the production of new generations - this work generates use values (processes goods and provides services) which together fulfil the role of reproducing, from day to day, the members of society and, among them, those who make up its labour force. In this way the housewife indirectly contributes to production.

Reproductive work is for the most part carried out by housewives, who receive no pay, and domestic servants. The importance of this type of work may be quantified in terms of the population engaged in it (see table 1). The contribution of housewives may be estimated through a simulation exercise calculating the amount of resources which the society would have to devote to pay those carrying out such tasks. (Table 1 provides the data on the basis of which the magnitude of the respective figures can be deduced.)

Finally, it is of interest to underline the practical consequences of the foregoing for women. The first is that, as a classical author on the subject put it, "in no society are men and women free to choose any work they wish to do, using the criterion of efficiency,

Table 1

DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX; TWO COUNTRIES

(Percentages)

Division	Peru (1972)		Costa Rica (1973)	
	Country	Women	Country	Women
Social productive work a/	33.3	6.3	31.2	4.6
Domestic productive work b/	2.9	1.6	3.4	0.1
Social reproductive work c/	18.3	9.1	21.2	11.0
Domestic reproductive work d/	45.5	83.0	44.2	84.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Prepared on the basis of the corresponding censuses.

a/ Including the primary and secondary sector, except for family workers.
b/ Including family workers, except for those in the tertiary sector.
c/ Including the tertiary sector, except for domestic servants.
d/ Including housewives and female domestic servants.

suitability and capacity".14/ There are typically female or male occupations, and the latter are in a higher category than the former.

The second is the scant progress represented by the fact that women are legally permitted to occupy any post, since in practice they are going to perform some jobs and not others because the job market wil offer them to women first and foremost, and because women are socialized to orient themselves towards specific jobs.

The third is that women contribute to society principally through their unpaid domestic activities, which are not computed in the labour force or in the national product, even though it is this work which enables the society to ensure that its work force receives, free of charge, the services needed to maintain it from day to day - laundry, food preparation and so on - and guarantees the reproduction of its new members; birth, care and, in part, socialization of children. 15/

14/ W.J. Goode, La Familia (Mexico, Uteha, 1966), p.154

15/ See Marshall Wolfe, "La participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina", in CEPAL, Mujeres en América Latina, op.cit.

The fourth is that behind participation in work stand the norms, values, ideologies, stereotypes and self-images which shape the guiding principles of the social division of labour by sex. Hence the mere fact that a woman enters the labour market, acquiring economic independence, solves only part of the problem, since it leaves untouched the aspects relating to values. This is reflected in the types of occupation in which women engage, and in the fact that, despite performing paid work and providing an income to the joint household, she is still obliged to carry out the housework.

(c) Organization of the family and participation of women in work

As an institution that mediates between the individual and society, the family is particularly important as regards the situation of women, "and the possibility of broadening their social participation and eliminating the factors of the discrimination against them". 16/

In the first place, it should be noted that the consequences of the social division of labour by sex mean, within the family, that the wife generally receives no monetary income, and therefore becomes economically dependent on the husband. Furthermore, her activity is limited to the framework of the home, with the resulting limitations on contacts with others and participation in the activities which play a role in national life (fundamentally trade union and political activities).

Secondly, the family mediates between a woman and society depending on the socio-economic stratum to which she belongs. Thus, she develops strategies whereby she organizes and uses the resources available for the maintenance of the members of the family and structures the demands which they make on society. This has an influence on the conditions in which the woman's work is carried out (housing, infrastructure of basic services, tools and raw materials), on the size of the family income and on the need for different members of the family group to contribute to that income. 17/

16/ RPA, paragraph 35.

17/ See Carlos Borsotti, "Notas sobre la familia como unidad socioeconómica", Cuadernos de la CEPAL, N°22, 1978.

Before concluding this chapter, we must emphasize that in order to describe the present situation acccording to this conceptualization of the work of women, we will need a type of data not currently available. 18/ Consequently, the conceptual clarification set out above serves solely as a general orientation to interpret the real situation of women, which is, however, described below not as would be required by the concepts outlined above but, on the contrary, viewing women as a category and an isolated entity.

In view of the role played by employment in relation to the situation of women, and the action proposed in RPA to improve the conditions which affect women, it is necessary now to examine some of the characteristic trends of employment in the region in the period 1960-1970: 19/

(i) The Latin American economies lack the dynamism necessary to absorb their populations of working age. This means that there is a labour surplus, which produces unemployment and, above all, chronic underemployment. PREALC estimates that about 27%

18/ In order to make up for such deficiencies, specific research is being carried out at the microsocial level, with a more anthropological approach. At the societal level there are plans to correct this by changing the way in which census information is collected. In this regard, mention may be made of the Seminar recently carried out (November 1978) by IUPERJ in Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose of making suggestions along this lines. Another initiative which deserves mention is the preparation of household registers, initiated by CELADE. See in this regard the papers by the consultants Recchini de Lattes and Wainerman, op.cit.

19/ See CEPAL, "Desarrollo humano, cambio social y crecimiento en América Latina", Cuadernos de la CEPAL Nº 3 (Santiago, 1975), CEPAL, "Desarrollo y cambio Social en América Latina", Cuadernos de la CEPAL Nº 16 (Santiago, 1977). Henry Kirsch, "El empleo en América Latina: mirada retrospectiva y perspectivas para el futuro", E/CEPAL/DS/183, 1978. A vast number of documents prepared by PREALC, including: "El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectiva y políticas" (Santiago, 1976).

of the total labour force is underused. 20/ This situation is tending to become more serious because of the rapid growth of population and the high proportion of young people in it.

(ii) Latin American countries have reached different degrees of industrialization, and there is a distinction within the countries between a formal sector, with modern technology and high productivity, and an informal sector. All this produces very heterogeneous and diversified employment situations.

(iii) The middle and high occupational strata have grown rapidly, and this has been accompanied by increasing differentiation in wages (which favours the high sectors) and a growing concentration of income, which tends to favour capital to the detriment of labour.

B. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EMPLOYMENT SITUATION OF WOMEN, 1960-1970

The specific features of the social division of labour mean that most of women's activities are not regarded as being economically significant, either for society or for the family. Hence the first point which must be dealt with concerns levels of participation in economic and household activities. This is followed by a study of women's participation in the labour market, bearing in mind that this participation is determined by the degree of development of the structure of production, the place of women in the family and the position of the family in the social structure.

1. The participation of women in work

(a) Level of participation in economic and household activity

If one considers solely the rate of participation of women in economic activity - defined as the number of women in the labour force compared with the total number of women of an economically active age - one will be surprised at how infrequently women enter the labour market. Table 2 shows that the proportion of women in the labour market

---

20/ PREALC, op.cit.

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA: PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

(Overall participation rates among the economically active population)a/

Country	Age 15 and over					
	Both sexes			Women		
	Around			Around		
	1950	1960	1970	1950	1960	1970
Argentina	56.9	55.5	53.4	25.1	25.2	26.5
Barbados	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	...	...	45.7b/	...	...	25.6b/
Brazil	53.1	53.2	51.9	15.9	14.8	21.1
Colombia	55.0	52.6	49.8	20.0	20.3	25.9
Costa Rica	55.7	53.8	55.5	17.3	17.5	20.7
Cuba	52.4	-	48.6	14.0	-	18.3
Chile	56.9	52.8	49.4	27.5	22.7	21.7
Ecuador	62.8	55.0	51.5	34.4	17.6	17.1
El Salvador	55.0	54.1	56.6	17.8	18.8	24.5
Guatemala	54.3	52.8	50.8	13.9	13.0	14.2
Guyana	...	...	...	...	...	...
Haiti	...	...	...	...	...	...
Honduras	...	52.8	51.0	...	13.7	16.2
Jamaica	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico	55.5	56.4	48.6	14.6	19.7	17.9
Nicaragua	53.2	53.2	48.7	14.4	23.1	20.6
Panama	57.6	56.6	50.6	23.2	24.7	30.3
Paraguay	56.9	57.0	55.7	24.3	24.8	25.0
Peru	-	54.2	49.8	-	22.4	19.9
Dominican Republic	...	51.1	53.9	...	11.0	24.7
Trinidad and Tobago	...	...	...	...	...	...
Uruguay	-	53.2	53.2	-	28.1	28.4
Venezuela	55.7	55.4	51.1	19.8	20.2	23.6

Source: CEPAL, Division of Statistics, prepared on the basis of national censuses.

a/ Participation rate = $\frac{\text{Economically active population aged 15 and over}}{\text{Total population aged 15 and over}} \times 100$

b/ Population age 10 and over.

fluctuates around 20%; that is, barely one in five women of working age are involved in economic activity. Most of the remainder are engaged in housework. 21/

Accordingly, it is of interest to observe what would happen if it was considered that the role of a housewife represented a job (see table 3). The first noteworthy point is that, with this new conceptualization, a higher proportion of women than of men will be found to be working. This is due, firstly, to the fact that a

21/ It should be noted that not only is this proportion much lower than in other regions, but in addition, once women leave the labour market they generally do not re-enter it.

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: WOMEN IN THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLDS, AROUND 1960 AND 1970

Country	1960				1970			
	Percentage of women in the economically active population	Percentage of women who are housewives	Total working women	Others (students, pensioners no information)	Percentage of women in the economically active population	Percentage of women who are housewives	Total working women	Others (students, pensioners no information)
Argentina a/	18.8	67.2	86.0	14.0	24.1	52.7	77.8	22.2
Bahamas	...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Barbados	...	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bolivia b/	...	-	-	-	18.5	...	...	...
Brazil	...	-	-	-	18.5	...	...	...
Colombia c/	18.8	66.1	84.9	15.1	21.6	...	...	...
Costa Rica c/d/	9.7	42.6	52.3	47.7	18.6	65.6	84.2	15.8
Cuba	-	-	-	-	15.9	20.0	63.9	36.1
Chile c/d/	20.9	63.5	84.4	15.6	19.6	59.0	78.6	21.4
Ecuador c/	16.7	73.6	90.3	9.7	-	-	-	-
El Salvador	16.5	70.2	86.7	13.3	20.8	59.5	80.3	19.7
Grenada								
Guatemala e/	10.4	76.4	86.8	13.2	12.3	78.0	86.3	13.7
Guyana	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haiti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Honduras	11.9	74.8	86.7	13.3	13.4	68.8	82.2	17.8
Jamaica f/					22.0	77.5	88.5	11.5
Mexico g/d/	15.6	73.9	89.5	10.5	17.6	69.7	87.3	12.7
Nicaragua					17.2	71.3	88.5	11.5
Panama	21.0	51.0	72.0	28.0	25.8	48.1	73.9	26.1
Paraguay c/d/	22.9	63.5	86.4	13.6	21.2	...	...	...
Peru h/	17.0	...	...	...	14.7	48.5	63.2	36.8
Dominican Republic	9.3	68.5	77.8	22.2	24.9	56.7	81.6	18.4
Trinidad and Tobago	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Uruguay d/	-	-	-	-	27.8	42.6	70.4	29.6
Venezuela i/	17.2	63.9	81.1	18.9	36.4	35.8	92.2	7.8

Source: Prepared on the basis of the corresponding censuses.

a/ (1960) Argentina regards the population aged 14 and over as economically active.
b/ (1970) Bolivia regards the population aged over 7 as economically active.
c/ (1960) The population aged 12 and over is regarded as economically active.
d/ (1970) The population aged 12 and over is regarded as economically active.
e/ (1960) Guatemala regards the population aged 7 and over as economically active.
f/ (1970) Jamaica regards the population aged 14 and over as economically active.
g/ (1960) Mexico regards the population aged 6 and over as economically active.
h/ (1960) Peru regards the population aged 6 and over as economically active.
i/ (1970) Venezuela regards the population aged 15 and over as economically active.

a smaller percentage of women enter higher education, and that there is a small percentage of pensioners among them; and secondly, that these figures overrepresent female activity because the tasks of a housewife do not have the same meaning for all those engaged in them. For example, for the woman in a high socio-economic stratum, they may involve two or three hours a day of giving orders and supervising; on the other hand, for a peasant woman in a low stratum they may involve twelve hours or more a day

of the widest possible variety of tasks, from feeding the domestic animals to preparing meals, as well as washing and ironing clothes, looking after the children, watering the vegetable garden, and so on.

With this proviso, which fundamentally modifies the significance of the data have been observed: (i) the female participation rates vary greatly from one country to another (between 14 and 30% in 1970), while male rates are more constant; (ii) in the 1960s the average growth rate of the economically active female population was higher than the growth rate of the female population, 22/ which indicates a trend towards greater female participation in the labour market. It should be pointed out, however, that there are countries where the reverse occurred.

The following section contains a study of how some of the factors outlined in the previous chapter affect female participation. The participation rate by age group, marital status and type of structure of production are also discussed.

(b) Factors affecting participation in work

(i) Activity rates by age. It can be seen from table 4 that women's activity rates are highest between 20 and 24 years of age, gradually falling thereafter. It should be remembered that it is around that age that most women establish a household and assume the responsabilities related to the role of housewife;this as has already been said, competes with her remaining in the labour market as far as the orientation of her activites is concerned. The truth of this assertion will be verified in the following section.

22/ The annual growth rate of the female population between 1950 and 1960 was 2,8 %, and the figure for the period 1960-1970, 2,7%. On the other hand, the growth rates of the economically active female population was 2.7 and 3.5%, respectively. Data published in OAS, "Women in the Latin American Labour Force", Fifth Conference of Ministers of Labour, Guatemala City, 1975, p.5.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA: FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP ACCORDING TO CENSUSES, AROUND 1970[a]

Country	Age groups									
	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65 and over
Argentina	1.9	31.1	43.6	36.2	29.2	25.1	22.0	16.1	10.2	4.6
Barbados	0.5	42.4	60.1	60.7	54.6	50.2	46.9	40.5	40.9	
Brazil	4.6	41.9	45.6	39.6	37.8		28.8		15.6	
Colombia	4.0	25.1	32.4	27.9	22.3	19.7	18.5	16.2	13.8	
Costa Rica	1.0	20.5	29.5	26.7	22.2	16.8	13.5	10.7	7.8	3.9
Cuba	0.1	16.4	25.3	24.2	22.2	18.9	15.9	12.0	6.8	1.9
Chile	0.3	16.4	32.0	28.6	25.9	21.1	18.5	14.8	10.5	5.5
Ecuador	1.2	15.9	20.2		17.1[b]	16.0[c]	14.1		10.2	
El Salvador	8.6	32.7	42.3	31.5	25.9	22.7	21.0	18.9	16.8	11.6
Guatemala	1.2	15.0	17.4	15.0	14.0	13.5	12.9	11.9	10.1	7.1
Haiti	17.0	63.9	74.8	74.1	74.9	76.9	76.7	75.1	69.3	44.6
Jamaica	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mexico	0.9	20.9	24.1	17.4	15.9	16.4	15.9	15.1	14.1	10.9
Nicaragua	1.2	17.4	25.6	23.7	22.4		16.6	17.3	14.0	9.1
Panama [d]	1.5	30.6	40.3	35.6	32.1	29.1	25.1	20.9	14.9	7.9
Paraguay	1.4	24.8	31.3	27.4	25.9	19.9	19.1	17.2	13.7	7.5
Peru	1.3	17.7	25.8	24.5	21.3	19.5	17.9	16.1	13.4	8.3
Dominican Republic	3.7	22.4	28.5	28.5	25.9	27.9	28.2	25.8	27.5	20.9
Venezuela	-	20.3	29.4	28.5	25.3	20.8	17.0	13.5	9.8	5.8

Source: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1976 (Geneva, ILO, 1977). Quoted in PREALC, El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectivas y políticas (Santiago, 1976).

a/ The absence of some countries from the table is due to the lack of census data in the source used.
b/ 20-39 years.
c/ 40-49 years.
d/ Excluding the Canal Zone.

If we compare this behaviour with that of males, we will note that men between 20 and 54 years of age have relatively constant rates of participation of over 85%; they subsequently decline. Women in the period of greatest labour activity - 20 to 24 years - reach participation levels of 17 and 64%, with figures between 30 and 40% being most frequent.

The comparison of the specific participation rates for each age group set out in table 5 shows that the increases in the female participation rates are principally due to growth in these rates among women in the age groups under 44 years. This may be interpreted

Table 5

SPECIFIC FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP

Country and year of census	Age group				Overall participation rate
	15-24	25-44	45-54	55 and over	
Argentina					
1960	37.0	25.0	18.0	8.0	24.0
1970	37.0	31.0	24.0	9.0	27.0
Brazil a/					
1950	22.0	14.0	12.0	10.0	16.0
1970	26.0	20.0	18.0	10.0	20.0
Colombia					
1964	24.0	20.0	19.0	12.0	20.0
1973	28.0	24.0	19.0	10.0	24.0
Chile					
1960	29.0	24.0	20.0	12.0	23.0
1970	25.0	21.0	20.0	10.0	21.0
Mexico					
1960	16.0	15.0	19.0	20.0	17.0
1970	22.0	16.0	16.0	13.0	18.0
Panama					
1960	27.0	28.0	27.0	14.0	25.0
1970	34.0	32.0	27.0	25.0	32.0
Peru b/					
1961	28.0	21.0	21.0	13.0	22.0
1972	21.0	22.0	19.0	12.0	20.0
Costa Rica c/					
1963	21.8	19.5	15.2	5.8	17.5
1973	24.4	25.6	17.7	5.3	20.7
Cuba c/					
1953	13.1	16.3	15.1	7.9	14.0
1970	20.7	23.6	18.6	3.6	18.3
Venezuela					
1961	21.7	25.4	19.6	6.9	20.2
1971	24.3	28.3	21.2	7.3	22.7

Source: Population censuses processed by: PREALC, El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectivas y políticas (Santiago, 1976), and CINTERFOR, Realidad del empleo y la formación profesional de la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

a/ A different set of age ranges: 15-24, 25-39, 40-49 and 50 and over.
b/ A different set of age ranges: 15-24, 25-29, 30-49 and 50 and over.
c/ A different set of age ranges: 15-24, 25-34, 35-59 and 60 and over.

as an indication of the gradual change towards greater readiness to accept the entry of women into the world of employment. In various cases the increase is also ocurring between 45 and 54 years of age; this may be interpreted as an indication of the entry of widows and separated women, which is discussed in the next section.

(ii) Activity rates by marital status Table 6 gives data for some countries. In all of them it may be observed that the smallest proportion of active

Table 6

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE BY MARITAL STATUS IN NINE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AROUND 1960 AND 1970

Country and year of census	MARITAL STATUS				
	Married	Single	Widowed	Divorced and/or separated	Not specified
Argentina					
1970	16.0	41.0	15.0	57.0	22.0
Brazil					
1970	10.0	37.0	21.0	44.0	27.0
Chile					
1960	11.0	31.0	19.0	46.0	22.0
Panama					
1970	30.0	42.0	18.0	46.0	27.0
Costa Rica					
1960	7.5	25.1	16.8		-
1970	11.0	26.1	21.3		-
Cuba					
1970	15.8	29.9	21.4		-
Mexico					
1970	6.6	24.4	28.7		-
Peru					
1960	12.1	36.5	28.2		-
Venezuela					
1960	11.5	32.6	16.7		-
1970	15.6	31.8	22.9		-

Sources: Population censuses processed by: PREALC, El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectiva y políticas (Santiago, 1976), and CINTERFOR, Realidad del empleo y la formación profesional de la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

women occurs among married women, which corroborates what was said above. The rate of entry into economic activity among married women is two or three times lower than that of single women. Divorced or separated women, who generally assume the role of heads of household, have the highest rates of participation. This is related to what was said above concerning the family and, within it, the allocation of different tasks to the man as the husband, and to the woman as the wife. The latter is entrusted with household affairs, and this prevents her from entering the labour market. Nevertheless, when the husband is absent, there is no one to carry out the work which generates income essential for ensuring the sustenance of the family; this work must be undertaken by the woman in addition to her own work. This means that a female head of household has two jobs: as a paid worker and as a housewife.

(iii) Activity rates according to the degree of development of the structure of production in the countries. Efforts are being made to study the influence of economic development on the participation of women in the labour force. On the basis of Boserup's hypothesis, 23/ which asserts that the modernization of the process of production in the countryside shifts women away from economic activity, relegating them to domestic tasks, Blay highlights the importance of the degree of industrialization reached. 24/ In order to check her hypothesis, she uses the classification of Cardoso and Reyna, 25/ which divides countries into early industrializers (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay); recent industrializers(Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela and Costa Rica); and incipient industrializers (Bolivia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama and Paraguay). Blay finds that the distribution curve of female participation according to the degree of industrialization of the countries is shaped like a "J". In other words,in the countries regarded as early industrializers, the female participation rate is higher than in the recent industrializers, but is still lower than in the countries with agricultural economies. She concludes that the effect of industrialization in its initial stages is to shift women aside from economic activity. Because this assertion is not consistent with the evidence provided in table 2, it must be regarded as at best a hypothesis which calls for further research.

2. Structure of women's employment

For purposes of description, the employment of women will be examined in relation to the branch of economic activity in which they work, the occupations they engage in and the types of requirement and the compensation they receive for their work.

23/ Esther Boserup, Women's Role in Economic Development (London, George Allen and Unwin,1970)

24/ Eva Alterman Blay, Trabalho Domesticado: A mulher na industria Paulista(Sao Paulo,Edit. Atica, 1978)

25/ Fernando H. Cardoso and José Luis Reyna "Industrialization, occupational strata and social stratification", ILPES, Santiago, Chile 1966.

(a) Employment of women by branch of activity

Table 7 allows for a comparisons of the situation in 1960 and 1970. This comparison proves rather difficult, since the definitions used are different at one time and another; as a result it is only possible to indicate some general features.

(i) In almost all the countries, the percentage of women employed in agriculture fell, basically as a result of the modernization of the system of production

Table 7

PERCENTAGE OF THE FEMALE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION IN EACH BRANCH OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AROUND 1960 AND 1970

Year and branch of economic activity	Argentina a/	Brazil b/	Colombia c/	Costa Rica d/	Cuba	Dominican Republic e/	Mexico f/	Peru g/	Venezuela h/
Around 1960	(1960) i/	(1960)	(1964)	(1965)	(1953) j/	(1960)	(1960)	(1961)	(1961)
Total	21.8	17.9	20.1	16.3	13.0	16.3	17.8	21.8	13.0
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	5.7	10.0	4.8	1.8	1.8	5.0	10.7	13.2	3.5
Mining and quarrying	2.7	0.7	0.8	1.3		4.6	6.7	2.7	5.4
Manufacturing	20.7	24.6	27.3	25.6	14.6	31.5	15.0	20.1	25.0
Construction	1.3	1.0	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.6	3.4	0.9	1.1
Electricity, gas and water	3.5	-	7.8	5.0	k/	2.8	9.4	4.3	5.3
Trade	18.6	11.5	24.7	17.8	8.7	23.5	27.0	28.0	13.6
Transport, storage and communication	4.7	4.1	6.4	4.3	4.1	3.3	5.3	4.5	4.2
Services	52.0	52.7	59.6	60.8	51.9	51.9	20.2	48.1	44.8
Not defined	21.4	29.7	22.2	11.9	7.1	11.8	21.0	11.4	17.4 l/
Around 1970	(1970) m/	(1970)	(1973) n/	(1975)	(1970) o/	(1974)	(1970)	(1972)	(1971)
Total	25.4	20.9	25.6	19.3	18.3	16.9	19.0	20.2	22.4
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	6.6	9.6	3.4	0.7	4.9	...	5.2	8.7	3.0
Mining and quarrying	3.9	1.8	24.4	4.3		...	7.5	2.6	6.4
Manufacturing	25.4	18.8	28.2	26.1	19.1	...	20.6	26.4	19.3
Construction	1.7	0.9	2.4	0.5	2.0	...	3.1	1.0	2.4
Electricity, gas and water	6.0	5.6	9.4	4.9	k/	...	8.8	5.0	10.4
Trade	24.4	16.4	30.0	26.6	36.1	...	27.9	31.5	17.5
Transport, storage and communication	8.7	5.0	8.3	4.5	6.8	...	4.7	4.0	7.2
Services	53.6	56.6	55.1	50.4	32.5	...	43.9	41.4	48.4
Not defined	26.1	25.0	20.7	12.0	22.8	...	21.3	24.8	25.9 l/

Source: CIEDESPOR, Realidad del empleo y la formación profesional de la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

a/ Population aged 15 and over.
b/ Population aged 10 and over.
c/ Population aged 12 and over.
d/ Data prepared on the basis of the Yearbook of Labour Statistics (Geneva, ILO, 1970).
e/ Entire population.
f/ Included in manufacturing.
g/ Including those seeking work for the first time.
h/ Data prepared on the basis of the Yearbook of Labour Statistics (Geneva, ILO, 1974).
i/ Employed women only; excluding those for whom no information is available.

in agriculture. 26/

(ii) The average in the industrial sector remained roughly constant. If we look at the situation country by country, we will see that in almost half the countries, the percentage of female employment increased, while in the other half it fell. The hypotheses concerning the degree of industrialization of the countries are of no use in interpreting this phenomenon, since it is in the earliest industrializers that the percentage of women fell. The explanation might lie in the small cottage industries and artisanal workshops in the less industrialized countries.

(iii) A remarkably high percentage of women fall into the category of "unspecified activities", which is indicative of the problems involved in categorizing the many activities carried out by women.

Table 8 allows for a comparison of the percentage distribution of employment of men and women. It is noteworthy that there are sectors of economic activity which are relatively open to giving employment to women, and others which are more closed. The sectors closed to women are: mining and quarrying, construction electricity and gas, transport. The relatively open sectors are: industry, and to a lesser extent commerce, and services, which, in most of the countries, employ predominantly female labour.

The above assertions are confirmed by the information in table 9, which indicates that services are the main activity in which women are engaged. Depending on the country, between 40% and 55% of employed women may be found in the services sector. This is followed by industry (between 10 and 20%), and in third place commerce (between 6 and 18%), which, moreover, is gaining in importance as a source of employment for women. Finally, it should be pointed out that agriculture has declined in importance as a source of employment for women, it now employs between 3 and 20% of total female labour, depending on the country.

26/ Comments on an interpretations of this phenomenon may be found in Ulrike von Buchwald and Ingrid Palmer, Monitoring Changes in the Conditions of Women, Geneva, UNRISD/78/c.18,1978.

Table 1

STRUCTURE OF THE AGRICULTURAL AND NON-AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER, BY SEX

(Percentages)

Country and year of census	Branch of activity																			
	Agriculture[a]		All non-agricultural branches		Mining and quarrying		Manufacturing		Construction		Electricity/gas		Trade		Transport/storage		Services		Not defined	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Argentina																				
1960	22	5	100	100	1	0	32	25	9	0	2	0	16	11	11	2	16	32	13	10
1970[b]	18	4	100	100	1	0	25	19	13	1	2	0	18	14	10	2	21	54	11	9
Brazil																				
1950	61	27	100	100	0	1	34[c]	21[c]	...	...	...	...	18	6	12	2	27	69	1	1
1970	49	17	100	100	0	0	40[d]	25[d]	...	...	...	...	16	9	10	1	28	68	9	5
Chile																				
1960	34	26	100	100	7	0	27	20	11	0	1	0	15	2	9	1	19	61	10	6
1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Colombia																				
1964	56	11	100	100	3	2	27	20	12	0	1	0	19	12	10	2	19	58	8	4
1973[b]	38	4	100	100	1	1	21	17	8	0	1	0	16	15	6	1	17	45	30	21
Mexico																				
1960[e]	59	52	100	100	4	1	34	18	10	1	1	0	20	21	9	1	20	56	2	1
1970[e]	45	11	100	100	3	1	30	20	10	1	1	0	19	15	6	1	25	51	9	11
Panama																				
1960[b]	60	7	100	100	0	0	20	10	15	0	2	0	22	15	9	2	28	65	4	0
1970	45	8	100	100	0	0	15	12	16	1	2	1	20	19	6	2	29	64	10[f]	1[f]
Peru																				
1961[g]	55	52	100	100	6	0	27	25	9	0	1	0	18	17	8	1	22	31	9	5
1972[b]	46	18	100	100	3	0	22	20	10	0	0	0	11	20	10	1	35	47	18	12

Source: Based on PREALC, El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectivas y políticas (Santiago, 1976), using data from population censuses.

a/ Percentage of the total economically active population, male and female.

b/ Aged 10 and over.

c/ Including construction, electricity and gas.

d/ Employed population.

e/ Aged 12 and over.

f/ Canal Zone.

g/ Aged 6 and over.

Table 9

BREAKDOWN OF THE FEMALE LABOUR FORCE BY BRANCH OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AROUND 1960 AND 1970

Year and branch of economic activity	Argentina[a]	Brazil[b]	Colombia[c]	Costa Rica[d]	Cuba	Ecuador[e]	Mexico[f]	Panama[g]	Venezuela[h]
Around 1960	(1960)	(1960)	(1964)	(1963)	(1953)[i]	(1962)	(1960)	(1970)	(1961)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	4.7	29.0	11.2	5.6	5.7	15.9	32.7	11.2	6.0
Mining and quarrying	-	1.2	1.0	-		0.1	0.5	0.3	0.7
Manufacturing	25.6	19.0	17.4	15.6	19.2	20.1	13.4	17.9	16.2
Construction	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.1	0.4
Electricity, gas and water	0.2	-	0.1	0.3	[j]	-	0.2	0.1	0.3
Trade	10.9	5.3	10.3	10.7	7.8	9.7	14.5	12.2	9.1
Transport, storage and communication	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.7	0.6	0.9	0.8	1.2
Services	49.3	35.3	53.3	64.1	64.7	42.1	36.1	35.3	36.6
Not defined	9.7	15.3	5.8	1.0	0.3	3.2	-	4.1	5.3[k]
Around 1970	(1970)	(1970)	(1973)[l]	(1973)	(1970)[l]		(1970)	(1972)	(1971)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	...	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing	3.0	20.4	5.3	4.1	6.0	...	12.0	18.7	2.7
Mining and quarrying	0.1	0.6	0.9	0.1		...	0.6	0.2	0.4
Manufacturing	18.1	9.9	19.3	16.0	18.1	...	20.1	17.5	11.9
Construction	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6	...	0.0	0.2	0.6
Electricity, gas and water	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2	[j]	...	0.2	0.1	0.5
Trade	15.0	9.0	17.6	15.9	15.2	...	13.0	17.2	9.8
Transport, storage and communication	2.2	1.0	1.6	1.0	2.1	...	0.6	0.9	1.3
Services	49.1	58.7	50.1	58.2	52.0	...	38.5	40.0	35.5
Not defined	9.0	3.7	0.1	0.3	5.0	...	-	5.2	17.3[k]

Source: CEPAL/FNUAP, Evolución del empleo y la fecundidad en la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

[a] Population aged 15 and over.
[b] Population aged 10 and over.
[c] Population aged 12 and over.
[d] Entire population.
[e] Included in manufacturing.
[f] Including those seeking work for the first time.
[g] Employed labour force only.

In view of the importance of the services sector as a source of female employment and the variety of activities it encompasses, it is necessary to break it down into subsectors. The breakdown is given in table 10, which highlights the importance of domestic service. Of the total number of women employed in services, between 54 and 73% are domestic servants, and of the total number of women employed in non-agricultural sectors, between 31 and 45% are domestic servants.

Table 10

BREAKDOWN OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE SERVICES BRANCH, IN FOUR LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, 1960

(Percentages)

Branch of activity	Brazil		Chile		Colombia		Peru	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
Total services	100	69	100	62	100	62	100	51
Administration a/	4	3	3	14	4	3	4	2
Social services b/	22	15	22	9	21	13	32	16
Public administration	...	...	13	9				
Domestic	54	37	58	36	75	45	60	31
Others	20	14	3	2	2	1	4	2

Source: PREALC, El problema del empleo en América Latina: situación, perspectivas y políticas, prepared from data in J.C. Elizaga, "The Participation of Women in the Labour Force of Latin America, Fertility and Other Factors in Women Workers (Geneva, ILO, 1976).

Note: There is a slight discrepancy between these figures and those in table 8 because of adjustments in the age of the EAP and rounding.

(1) Percentages of the female total in the services branch.
(2) Percentages of the total urban female economically active population.

a/ Including armed forces and police.
b/ Including education, health and social security.

It has been established that, in general, domestic servants have a lower level of education than the average urban woman, and that unqualified, unmarried rural-urban migrants predominate among them. The work they do has very little prestige, and their wage level is very low. Furthermore, they tend to be overlooked by labour legislation. 27/

The fact that a third of women are employed as domestic servants and a third as professionals and office workers suggests a close relationship between the two figures: the domestic work carried out by the former enables the latter to enter the labour market. 28/

Finally, it is necessary to describe the structure of production in the countries in terms of the distribution of the population as between activities which produce goods and those pertaining to the maintenance and reproduction of the individuals who make up society, at both the social and the domestic levels. This has been done, more for illustrative purposes than in order to

---

27/ See Irma Arriagada, "Las mujeres...", op.cit., pp. 50-51.

28/ See Irma Arriagada, ibid., p.43. Jorge Graciarena, "La desigualdad...", op.cit.

draw conclusions, in two countries for which information was available. Table 10 shows that the division of labour is relatively similar in the two countries: of every 100 workers, 32 are engaged in social productive work, three in domestic productive work, 20 in social reproductive work and 45 in domestic reproductive work.

Within this structuring of the work of society, there is a specialization by sex. Women carry out 18% of social productive work, 50% of domestic productive work and social reproductive work, and practically all the domestic reproductive work. In other words, the fundamental task of women is to carry out domestic reproductive work (83% of women are engaged in it).

(b) Female employment by occupational stratum

Between 1960 and 1970, it was observed that a substantial percentage of women reached the medium and high levels of the occupational structure, and that that proportion was much higher than the increase in the access of men to those levels (see table 11). This represents an improvement in their status vis-a-vis men; however, its real significance will be seen in the following pages, Table 12 shows that there are two occupational groups to which women have majority access: professional and technical jobs and jobs in services. Office jobs stand some way behind. This confirms what was seen in the previous table, and offers grounds for stating that the changes represent an increase in the groups of non-independent professionals and office employees; there also appears to be a suggestion of a decline in the number of workers in services, which is confirmed by the information set out in table 14.

From a more detailed analysis of the place occupied by women at the various levels and occupations in the occupational structure (table 13), the above statements can be made somewhat more specific. It should be emphasized that about 10% of working women in the region work as non-independent professionals; this is reinforced by the university courses most followed by women, which are most likely to train them for work as teachers, nurses and so on. 29/ About 12% are employed as office workers and sales staff in commerce, and somewhat more than 26% as domestic servants. The remainder, in smaller percentages, are distributed throughout the other occupational groups.

29/ See table 1 in Marshall Wolfe, "La participación de la mujer en el desarrollo de América Latina", in CEPAL, Mujeres... op.cit.

Table 11

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA: MEN AND WOMEN, 1960 TO 1970

	Argentina		Chile		Panama		Paraguay	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I. Middle and high strata (excluding primary sector occupations)	-0.9	4.2	4.4	9.3	3.8	6.7	1.0	3.9
(a) Employers	-4.4	-1.9	1.4	1.4	-0.4	-0.1	-0.1	0.7
(b) Managerial administrative staff	3.0	3.6	-0.4	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.2
(c) Independent professionals and semi-professionals	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
(d) Non-independent professionals	0.9	-0.2	0.9	3.8	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.9
(e) Own-account workers and proprietors of commercial establishments	1.8	2.6	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.2	1.2
(f) Non-manual workers, vendors, assistants	-2.3	-0.3	7.8	4.2	2.1	5.4	0.4	2.2
II. Low strata in the secondary sector	6.3	-3.9	1.6	-2.3	9.1	2.7	4.6	-5.9
(a) Wage-earning workers	5.0	-2.7	0.4	-1.9	7.4	3.3	2.6	-4.2
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	3.3	-1.2	1.2	-0.4	1.7	0.6	2.0	-4.7
III. Low strata in the tertiary sector	0.0	1.1	-0.6	-9.4	1.2	-1.0	-1.8	7.3
(a) Wage-earning workers in services	-0.2	0.6	-0.5	-9.0	0.5	-0.8	-1.8	5.3
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers in services	0.2	0.5	-0.1	-0.4	0.7	-0.2	0.0	2.0
IV. Middle and high strata in the primary sector	-2.6	-0.1	0.4	0.0	-0.4	-0.1	-0.8	-0.2
(a) Non-manual workers in agriculture and mining	-2.6	-0.1	0.4	0.0	-0.4	-0.1	-0.8	-0.2
V. Low strata in the primary sector	-1.4	-0.9	-8.1	-1.7	-6.7	0.7	-1.1	-7.6
(a) Rural wage-earning workers	-1.6	-0.5	-7.7	-0.9	1.1	-0.2	-1.8	-1.4
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	0.2	-0.4	-0.3	-0.8	-7.8	0.9	0.7	-6.1
VI. Others	-1.3	-0.4	2.3	4.2	-7.0	-9.2	-1.9	0.2

Source: Census samples operation, OMUECE: CEPAL-UNICEF: samples taken from the 1960 and 1970 censuses for the entire country.
Processed by Henry Kirsch, "La participación de la mujer en los mercados laborales latinoamericanos" in Mujeres en América Latina (México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975).

Table 12

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS AROUND 1960 AND 1970

Year and occupational group	Argentina[a]	Brazil	Colombia[b]	Costa Rica[c]	Ecuador[d]	Mexico	Peru[e]	Venezuela[f]
Around 1960	(1960)[g]	(1950)[c]	(1964)	(1963)	(1962)	(1960)[g]	(1961)	(1961)
Total	21.8	14.6	20.1	16.3	16.3	18.0	21.0	18.0
Professional, Technical and related workers	58.7	51.1	47.3	56.1	46.8	37.6	55.2	48.9
Managers, administrators and directors	7.4	...	14.8	10.6	6.9	12.1		10.9
Clerical staff and related workers	28.9	12.4	35.6	27.3	27.8	30.0	31.5	34.2
Sales workers	16.9	13.9	25.5	18.7	23.1	28.5	28.9	9.1
Agricultural workers, fishermen, Hunters, forestry workers, related workers	5.2	7.4	4.4	1.6	5.0	10.3	13.3	5.3
Miners, quarrymen and related workers	-	0.9	37.2	-	4.2			1.3
Workers in transport and communication	1.2	2.6	4.2	-	-	24.5	19.9	1.5
Skilled workers and operatives in factories and related occupations	15.8	20.1	20.3	13.3	28.7			12.4
Other skilled workers and operatives				19.1	9.0			32.3
Workers in services, sport and recreation	62.2	67.0[f]	74.6	69.6	68.2		46.3	63.4
Workers in unidentified, unreported and other occupations	19.4	15.3	14.7	8.0	7.7	-	14.5	7.7
Seeking work for the first time	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.4
Around 1970	(1970)[h]	(1970)[g]	(1973)[h]	(1973)	...	(1970)[g]	(1972)	(1971)
Total	25.4	20.9	29.4	19.3	...	19.0	20.2	22.4
Professional, technical and related workers	54.8	59.8	41.7	46.5	...	33.8	31.8	48.4
Managers, administrators and directors	6.9	...	10.3	11.4	...	16.3		11.5
Clerical staff and related workers	35.6	21.1	45.3	35.9	...	40.7	35.7	45.0
Sales workers	25.9	18.2	22.8	21.4	...	27.8	30.4	14.3
Agricultural workers, fishermen, hunters, forestry workers and related workers	6.0	9.7	2.9	1.6	...	4.6	8.6	2.6
Miners, quarrymen and related workers		1.2		-	...			2.4
Workers in transport and communication	11.3	3.9	14.5	-	...	24.0	13.6	2.5
Skilled workers and operatives in factories and related occupations		13.2		14.6	...			12.5
Other skilled workers and operatives				11.8	...			-
Workers in services, sport and recreation	60.3	74.7[f]	72.2	64.7	...		36.6	59.8
Workers in unidentified, unreported and other occupations	30.5	17.7	23.3	17.4	...	34.7	27.0	22.3
Seeking work for the first time	-	-	-	11.9	...	-	-	21.4

Source: CINTERFOR, Realidad del empleo y la formación profesional de la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

a/ Population aged 15 and over.
b/ Population aged 10 and over.
c/ Population aged 12 and over.
d/ Data prepared on the basis of Anuario Internacional del Trabajo (Geneva, ILO, 1970).
e/ Population aged 6 and over.
f/ Including defence and security.
g/ Data prepared on the basis of Anuario Internacional del Trabajo (Geneva, ILO, 1974).
h/ Employed women only.

Table 15

(Percentages)

Occupational strata	Argentina		Bolivia		Chile		Colombia		Costa Rica		El Salvador		Guatemala		Honduras		Mexico		Nicaragua		Panama		Paraguay		Peru		Dominican Republic	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I. Middle and high strata (except for primary sector occupations)	39.3	48.4	19.5	30.3	31.4	38.1	17.9	28.5	16.6	28.4	9.6	18.8	9.5	18.3	11.3	24.2	19.9	32.2	12.3	24.4	15.9	29.4	14.6	28.9	11.4	24.8	11.2	17.4
(a) Employers	5.2	1.6	0.9	0.5	2.4	1.9	3.8	2.7	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.7	1.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.3	0.3	0.2	1.2	0.3
(b) Managerial administrative staff	4.2	4.0	1.1	1.7	1.2	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.3	0.8	0.8	0.3	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.1	1.3	1.2	0.9	0.4	0.8	1.1	0.5	0.2	1.3	1.7	0.2	0.1
(c) Independent professionals and semi-professionals	1.1	1.3	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.8	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.7	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.1
(d) Non-independent professionals	2.5	14.1	3.5	9.9	3.5	15.7	2.7	7.9	4.1	18.5	1.4	5.6	1.6	6.7	1.9	18.9	2.9	6.6	1.9	6.4	3.0	19.8	1.3	9.7	4.9	11.1	1.1	4.9
(e) Own-account workers, proprietors of commercial establishments	4.5	4.0	2.0	4.3	3.3	4.8	2.9	2.0	3.4	2.0	1.9	0.6	1.3	1.5	2.0	1.5	2.7	3.7	2.1	10.1	1.1	2.0	2.6	4.9	1.4	4.4	2.0	1.4
(f) Non-manual workers, vendors, assistants	10.8	10.1	4.2	5.5	10.5	13.9	6.5	13.6	2.9	16.5	4.2	3.9	3.3	10.4	4.3	11.6	7.6	13.3	4.3	10.4	7.5	10.9	4.8	7.0	4.4	11.9	5.3	7.2
II. Low strata in the secondary sector	40.0	16.5	32.6	16.4	39.6	16.2	29.7	15.9	26.4	17.0	15.4	13.4	23.1	16.3	25.6	20.2	24.4	16.8	21.6	14.0	23.3	13.7	22.5	20.4	23.3	17.7	23.6	5.2
(a) Wage-earning workers	33.0	11.4	13.3	3.6	29.1	10.7	17.9	10.2	23.2	14.5	13.5	5.7	13.9	7.9	13.6	10.4	13.9	7.6	15.3	6.3	18.0	6.6	14.5	7.6	15.9	5.1	9.6	1.5
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	7.0	4.8	7.6	13.7	6.6	7.5	4.6	4.7	3.4	2.5	1.7	7.3	9.2	28.6	1.2	19.5	4.6	3.1	1.2	9.7	1.5	4.7	5.4	28.0	7.6	13.4	4.7	2.0
III. Low strata in the tertiary sector	4.1	20.1	2.1	13.8	2.6	20.7	4.6	20.1	2.6	20.3	1.5	17.8	2.1	29.7	2.1	27.2	2.0	13.6	2.1	27.3	2.6	32.4	2.2	27.7	2.5	24.5	2.5	13.5
(a) Wage-earning workers in services	3.5	15.0	1.9	12.6	2.5	20.2	3.7	18.2	1.2	17.5	1.4	15.3	1.9	24.4	1.9	25.8	2.5	11.7	2.5	25.8	2.3	28.0	1.9	25.7	2.0	20.1	2.4	12.4
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	0.4	2.2	0.3	2.5	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.2	1.0	0.3	1.4	0.3	1.0	0.5	1.7	1.0	1.1	0.4	1.0	0.4	1.5	0.3	0.3
IV. Middle and high strata in the primary sector	1.7	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.2	2.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.3	0.1
(a) Employers in agriculture and mining	1.7	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.2	2.6	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.2	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.6	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1
V. Low strata in the primary sector	15.5	3.2	39.7	39.6	17.6	4.7	33.4	5.5	46.7	32.7	68.6	53.7	60.5	47.1	51.1	48.1	51.0	44.1	63.2	56.1	57.3	53.7	59.8	49.5	59.5	57.2	60.6	76.9
(a) Rural wage-earning workers	10.0	1.5	9.6	1.7	10.6	1.2	28.5	2.0	24.6	2.3	38.6	2.5	22.6	1.6	32.0	1.3	22.6	1.3	27.2	1.3	9.0	0.5	11.3	1.3	11.3	1.3	14.2	1.6
(b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	5.5	1.6	31.1	37.3	9.3	3.3	10.2	3.5	10.1	3.4	31.2	6.6	41.2	2.2	48.3	2.2	28.5	2.6	28.6	2.6	18.4	6.0	47.3	11.4	18.4	14.3	22.6	2.3
VI. Others	3.3	3.4	11.3	13.3	10.1	7.3	13.4	20.0	3.7	3.6	4.4	14.4	2.3	3.6	1.7	1.6	4.6	10.7	1.7	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.8	5.6	3.2	14.7	16.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: CEPAL (census sample operation), CEPAL-UNICEF.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 14

FEMALE AND MALE WAGE EARNERS IN THE LOW OCCUPATIONAL STRATA IN TERTIARY ACTIVITIES, 1960-1970[a]

(Percentages of total EAP)

Country	1960		1970	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Argentina	24.4	3.8	25.0	3.6
Brazil	25.5	2.9	-	-
Costa Rica	40.2	2.8	37.5	5.2
Chile	34.2	4.1	30.2	3.5
Ecuador	25.7	2.1	-	-
El Salvador	35.6	1.4	-[b]	-[b]
Guatemala	35.7	1.3	34.4	1.9
Honduras	42.1	2.3	-	-
Mexico	29.2	3.7	14.7	2.5
Nicaragua	-	-	33.8	2.5
Panama	29.1	4.1	28.3	4.6
Paraguay	19.2	3.7	24.7	1.9
Peru	-	-	20.1	4.0
Dominican Republic	40.3	1.3	...[c]	...[c]
Uruguay	29.3	5.6	-	-

Source: Census sample operation, CELADE, CEPAL-UNICEF: Proyecto sobre estratificación y movilidad social en América latina. Basic tables. The information is based on standardized samples from the censuses. Prepared by Irma Arriagada. • Las mujeres pobres latinoamericanas, Estudios de Población, vol. II, No 4.

a/ Basically female domestic servants and other female wage earners in services such as waitresses.

b/ In El Salvador in 1970 the "others" category was 42% for women. For this reason it was not taken into consideration.

c/ In the Dominican Republic in 1970 the "others" category made up 42% of the total. For this reason it was not taken into consideration.

The principal differences compared with men lie in the fact that, at the middle and higher levels, greater percentages of men reach jobs as employers and managers; at the low levels, on the other hand, they work more frequently as manual workers, in the primary and secondary sectors. Firstly, this indicates, that men take most of the decisions as employers and managers, and, secondly, it confirms the earlier statement that the predominant role of men is to carry out what is regarded as productive work.

(c) Use of, requirements for and remuneration for female employment

The factors which contribute to the underuse of labour are: the fact that permanent and appropriate work cannot be found, that higher qualifications are demamded than those necessary for the work, and that lower remuneration is received for the work carried out.

Open unemployment affects women twice or three times as much as men, 30/ and this is more dramatic when the woman is the head of a household.

In previous studies it had been said that women joined the labour force with a higher level of education than men. However, the data set out in table 15, where each stratum is considered separately, modify this assertion. It is true that, when the labour force is considered as a whole, there is a lower percentage of women with no schooling or with less than three years of primary education, and that, at the other extreme, there is a higher percentage of women with 10 or more years of schooling. Nevertheless, in a more thorough analysis, when the average number of years of education of men and women is examined in each occupational stratum, it may be observed that women possess less education than men, with the exception of two strata: own-account workers and office workers and industrial manual workers. It might therefore be supposed that, in order to enter the production units, either as a clerical employee or as an industrial manual worker, a woman is expected to possess higher qualifications than a man; it may also be suggested that a woman who decides to work in such jobs, instead of working in other, more conventional jobs, for example as a domestic servant, belongs to a sector which has succeeded in gaining more education than other women. The two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, but support one another.

If the professional stratum, which exert substantial influence in raising the average number of years of schooling of women, is considered separately, it is clear that the average number of years of education among women is lower. This may be explained if it is remembered that the professions in which women are concentrated, such as nursing and teaching, require fewer years of study.

30/ Henry Kirsch, op.cit.

Table 15

LATIN AMERICA: AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF EDUCATION AMONG MEN AND WOMEN IN SEVEN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA IN 15 COUNTRIES, 1960-1970

(Economically active population aged 10 and over)

Country	Year	Occupational strata													
		Employers and managers		Profes-sionals, semi-profes-sionals and non-independent		Own account, trade, vendors working for others		Low strata in secondary sector occupations		Low strata in tertiary sector occupations		Low strata in primary sector occupations		Employers in agriculture and mining	
		Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Argentina	1960	6.0	5.8	12.0	10.4	5.2	7.5	4.4	4.5	4.5	5.3	2.7	2.4	3.5	3.3
	1970	9.1	9.3	12.4	11.3	8.5	9.0	6.2	6.9	6.4	5.4	4.5	4.3	0.3	6.7
Brazil	1960	4.7	4.5	10.7	10.1	7.2	7.8	2.8	2.2	3.3	1.8	1.0	0.8	5.2	0.0
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Costa Rica	1960	9.1	7.6	11.5	8.8	7.8	8.2	4.8	5.1	5.0	3.3	2.5	2.3	7.1	4.4
	1970	9.2	8.5	12.1	11.5	8.7	8.9	5.2	5.6	6.0	4.1	3.1	3.1	7.0	7.6
Chile	1960	7.0	6.8	11.7	11.2	5.9	6.8	4.2	4.3	3.9	3.4	2.3	2.4	3.2	2.8
	1970	8.1	6.9	10.2	10.9	6.9	8.0	4.5	4.8	4.4	4.1	2.9	3.4	3.4	0.0
Ecuador	1960	6.5	5.7	11.2	9.0	5.9	6.3	4.1	3.0	4.0	2.2	1.8	1.2	3.1	2.8
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1960	3.1	4.1	9.7	9.0	5.6	4.0	2.9	2.2	3.1	1.4	0.6	4.5	4.6	3.0
	1970	6.7	5.3	10.4	9.8	6.2	4.6	3.8	2.7	3.3	2.3	1.0	1.2	1.8	3.2
Guatemala	1960	4.8	3.3	8.8	8.0	5.4	6.1	2.4	1.5	2.3	1.3	0.5	0.3	0.8	1.2
	1970	6.3	4.8	10.3	9.7	5.9	7.0	2.7	1.9	3.1	1.7	0.8	0.5	2.2	1.6
Honduras	1960	6.6	10.3	9.5	8.5	4.9	4.6	2.6	0.2	3.0	1.3	0.7	0.3	1.2	0.0
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mexico	1960	4.2	2.7	8.7	8.3	6.0	6.5	3.5	3.9	3.1	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.4	0.9
	1970	6.5	5.7	9.0	9.4	5.5	5.4	3.7	3.6	3.7	2.6	1.6	1.7	2.4	2.4
Nicaragua	1960	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1970	7.5	5.6	11.2	9.4	5.4	4.5	3.2	3.2	2.8	1.9	0.7	0.4	1.8	3.9
Panama	1960	8.6	7.7	11.2	11.2	8.0	8.8	5.4	5.0	4.8	4.2	2.0	1.7	3.0	4.2
	1970	9.0	8.8	12.0	11.6	8.1	9.1	5.6	4.9	5.5	4.5	2.4	1.4	3.5	3.4
Paraguay	1960	9.4	8.0	11.0	11.7	8.1	7.2	4.3	3.3	4.5	3.1	2.4	1.7	4.3	4.5
	1970	8.5	7.4	11.4	11.0	7.6	7.1	4.6	3.9	5.2	3.7	2.9	2.2	3.0	5.7
Peru	1960	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	1970	9.4	4.6	11.5	12.6	7.3	6.4	4.8	3.3	5.8	3.3	2.2	1.0	4.2	3.1
Dominican Republic	1960	8.0	6.3	10.3	8.7	5.4	5.7	3.7	3.7	3.7	2.2	1.4	0.9	2.5	1.2
	1970	6.5	6.6	10.4	9.7	6.2	7.5	3.5	3.0	4.0	2.8	1.7	1.3	2.0	1.2
Uruguay	1960	6.2	5.8	10.9	7.2	6.3	9.1	4.2	4.7	4.2	3.3	2.7	2.8	4.0	3.6
	1970	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: Census sample operation, ONUECE: UNESCO-CEPAL-UNDP: Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean. The information is based on standardized samples from the corresponding censuses.

Table 16

RATES OF PARTICIPATION BY STUDENTS IN PROFESSIONAL TRAINING COURSES BY ECONOMIC SECTOR, BY SEX, AROUND 1974

(Percentages)

	Total		Economic sector							
			Agriculture		Industry		Commerce and services		Various sectors	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Argentina (CONET) a/	76.4	25.6	98.3	1.7	91.3	8.7	6.0	94.0	54.3	45.7
Brazil b/	66.8	33.2	-	-	87.7	12.3	39.6	60.4	-	-
Colombia (SENA)	57.5	42.5	81.8	18.2	63.0	37.0	37.6	62.4	56.0	44.0
Costa Rica (INA)	87.5	12.5	94.6	5.4	93.4	6.6	82.2	17.8	-	-
Ecuador (SECAP)	77.3	22.7	94.2	5.8	100.0	-	47.6	52.4	42.5	57.5
Peru (SENATI) c/	96.4	3.6	-	-	99.1	0.9	26.7 d/	73.3 d/	93.4	6.6
Venezuela (INCE) e/	77.6	22.4	83.1	16.9	84.6	15.4	69.8	30.2	61.3	38.7

Source: CINTERFOR, Realidad del empleo y la formación profesional de la mujer en América Latina (Montevideo, 1977).

a/ Excluding formal technical education.
b/ Including LBA, PIPMO, SENAC (1973 figures were used for the latter) and SENAI, Municipality of Rio de Janeiro.
c/ Excluding participants in night courses.
d/ Hotel industry and tourism programme for 1973, when it was initiated.
e/ With status of employed persons.

Table 16 shows that a small percentage of women attend technical training courses(about 25% of the total) number of pupils).

Finally, women are paid less than men for their work. This may partly be accounted for because they have less training; nevertheless, part of this differential has no justification at all. This is true, for example, of female manual workers in industry, since as has been pointed out, women in this stratum are better educated than men. A possible explanation is not that women are paid less than men, but that they carry out tasks which, under the prevailing criteria, earn lower remuneration. Hence it may be said that the problem lies in the fact that the typically female occupations are regarded as deserving lower remuneration. Consequently, the nub of the problem lies in the criteria used to establish the relative status of jobs and their differential remuneration.

(d) Attitudes towards working women

The picture will be completed with a look at the significance and extent of social acceptance of the employment of women, including a brief outline of the attitudes of employers towards working women, and those of women themselves towards their roles as workers. 31/

In general, employers state that they have no prejudice against engaging women; however, when the time comes to select their staff, they prefer men to women. The reasons adduced are additional costs - maintenance of nurseries - and possible disruption of production specifically maternity leave, absence to look after family members, difficulties in working overtime, and so on. 32/ When asked about promotion of female staff, they state that opportunities are very limited, because women do not possess managerial organizational and planning skills.

These views should be compared with the attitudes of women themselves towards work. The way in which women take up work reflects the way in which they define themselves socially; and the way they conceive their roles as workers in, in turn, a cause and effect of their so far secondary position in the labour market.

The reasons for which women work vary with their socio-economic level: at the low level, the wage is the most important factor: at the middle level, economic independence and a contribution to the family income; at the high level, personal and professional fulfilment have priority.

However, it should be remembered that whatever the reasons which lead them to seek employment, the elements which define the image that society has of women

---

31/ This information is taken from interviews carried out as part of CINTERFOR Project 102, "Professional training of working women", carried out in 1975 and 1976. The interviews, which constituted one of the tools used in the project, were carried out in Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico and Venezuela.

32/ Hence many solutions which would facilitate access for women to the labour market, such as flexible working hours, part-time work, and so on, must be proposed very tactfully and never as a privilege offered to women.

and that women have of themselves are laid down by the prevailing pattern of social division of labour, which assigns housework to women and productive work to men. Socialization conditions women to assume this role, to develop more passive personality features and to accept a degree of submission to men. Consequently, it is understandable that a high percentage of women should regard their work exclusively as a means of overcoming the economic problems of the home, defining it as temporary in relation to their major ambition, which is exclusive dedication to their home. Similarly, this is reflected in the general opinion that a woman with children should not work, even though many are obliged to do so.

It is also understandable that women should prefer occupations which in some way are related to the activities involved in managing a home or which involve services to others, i.e. which represent a transfer to the labour market of the activities they carry out in their homes. In other words, women choose the occupations which they have traditionally carried out because of the cultural conditioning they have received and the possibilities of work offered by society. In this way they select those jobs in which they know they will be welcome and which are not inconsistent with the activities socially defined as female. They work as professionals, choosing to be teachers or nurses; as office employees in middle-level secretarial or administrative jobs; or else as domestic servants.

Finally, this is reflected in the differential importance attached to the remuneration received by women. Women's wages are regarded as a contribution to the family budget, and it is accepted that they will earn little, since it is the man who is supposed to support the family. What is noteworthy is that this affirmation has no empirical foundation: from the interviews it was discovered that in a large majority of cases, the wages earned by the women amounted to 50% of the total family income, so that it is clear that their contribution is vital for the support of the family group. 33/ In addition, it should not be forgotten that a certain percentage of women are the sole support of their household.

33/ This is endorsed by the study carried out by Eva. A. Blay, op,cit.

In short, it may be said in general terms that with the maintenance of the sexual division of labour there has been no significant change in attitudes towards women's work, nor in the definitions of women's tasks, nor, as a result, in discrimination as regards remuneration and the worth society attaches to their work.

C. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

To sum up the discriminations provided by CEPAL, 34/ it may be said that the period at the beginning of the decade was characterized by high rates of economic growth and by very high prices for the region's exports, factors which stimulated consumerism and the national industries which feed it, and which "permitted the state to relieve social tensions by expanding social services, welfare programmes, and above all, by absorbing in public employment an important part of the rising output of secondary and higher education" 35/

Starting in 1974, the effects of the rise in petroleum prices were felt, together with those of the resulting recession in the central countries, and this was reflected, as far as the countries of the region were concerned, in a worsening of the terms of trade, a decline in the rate of economic growth, difficulties in servicing the external debt, a reduction in government resources for public expenditure and an increase and spread of inflation. In turn, these phenomena produced: (a) a rise in open unemployment, creating serious obstacles to the integration of women and young people wishing to enter the labour force; (b) a decline in government revenues, which led to a slow-down in the expansion of education, especially higher education, together with government campaigns aimed at freezing and/or reducing bureaucratic employment, thus restricting job opportunities for the middle strata; (c) the adoption of austerity policies and the growing removal of restraints on market forces, which detracted from the importance of government social policies aimed at redistributing income. It should be

---

34/ CEPAL, "Desarrollo y Cambio Social en América Latina", Cuadernos de la CEPAL Nº 16 (Santiago 1977). CEPAL, "The economic and social development and external relations of Latin America", E/CEPAL/1024, 1977.

35/ Ibid., p.59

pointed out that this harmed the programmes aimed at improving the status of women. In the name of efficiency, social problems were subordinated to the need for manpower and to the capacity of the various social strata to pay, thus discriminating against the lower-income sectors.

The material to complete the picture concerning the recent situation of women's employment was to have been derived from the government replies to the questionnaire on progress achieved in the implementation of RPA. However, these replies almost all relate to legislative aspects of rather general nature, without contributing specific information in this field.

In the labour field, legislative action is directed, firstly, towards the achievement of equality in work for men and women; to this end, it establishes equality of opportunity and the principle of equal pay for equal work, and eliminates discriminatory factors. Secondly, legislation is established which seeks to protect women as regards working hours and heavy or dangerous work, and in relation to their function as mothers, granting them, for example, maternity leave and time off for nursing.

In this regard, the provisions of RPA are relevant. It warns that excessive protection may in practice result in a limitation of real opportunities for the employment of women.

In passing, it is of interest to emphasize that there are still countries in the region which restrict women's activities to their functions within the home; as a result, the husband may legally object to his wife's being employed.

D. PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS

It is of interest to emphasize which are - and, as far as can be seen, which will be around the 1980s - the principal employment problems affecting women. For this purpose the various aspects related to employment are briefly reviewed below, and the specific problems of each of them are highlighted.

Concerning the low level of participation by women in economic activity, it should be emphasized that the principal problem is that women are regarded as non-active even when they are performing a task which is essential for the functioning of their families and society since the work is not defined as an economic activity, even though it fulfils an important economic function by creating use values; it is not recorded as a contribution to the national product, does not generate income and enjoys little recognition by society.

This basic problem has repercussions at various levels, leading to concrete problems which vary with the degree of development of the countries and the social stratum of the woman.

In the family, the husband supplies the money and the woman is in a relationship of economic dependence. If, in addition, her activities are defined as being of secondary importance, the relationship established between husband and wife is that between a superior and an inferior. The man is the head of the household, the woman depends on him and must submit to him. In this way the relationship between man and woman tends to be a dependent and authoritarian one, with all the psychological problems that implies and with the consequent erosion of the dignity of the woman as a person.

As a housewife, the woman is looked down upon in her home - particularly in the case of women of a low socio-economic stratum, and less so in those of a high stratum, who can engage domestic servant - and this means that she carries out her activities in an environment lacking in incentives, that she does so in isolation, that her tasks are routine ones and that the interests they generate tend to be limited to the home. All this makes it difficult to engage in "the collective reflection" 36/ which is necessary to interpret her circumstances as a social phenomenon, to take an interest in discussing the problems of her society and to participate in political activities.

At the level of society, it should be remembered that these facts originate in the prevailing division of labour, which assigns to each sex different activities which are unequally valued even though they are both indispensable. Changing this division of labour means, firstly, reorganizing the very foundations of the economic system and, secondly, revising the cultural foundations on which the differential evaluations are based. Hence the complexity of the problems relating to women's work, and the unwillingness to face them properly.

Mention may be made of some of the various concrete problems whose particular characteristic is that they are highly interrelated and tend to reinforce one another:

(a) The resulting structure of domination, at the level of the family, places the woman in a dependent

---

36/ See Johanna Noordam, "La mayor integración de la mujer en el desarrollo en el área rural de América Latina" (Santiago, CEPAL), (preliminary paper).

and subordinate position vis-a-vis the husband and/or the father; at the level of society, it limits her access to decision-making positions, relegates her to the home or else restricts her job opportunities to the occupations regarded as "female", in other words those with lower prestige and poorer pay.

(b) As the activities allocated to women are defined as being of lesser importance, the woman comes to be regarded as a person of less significance and therefore as unsuited for carrying out leadership tasks. Hence the problem of her exclusion from managegment posts and from the political decision-making process.

(c) This idea, based on the allocation of unequally evaluated tasks, comes to form an ideology; the ideology is transmitted and acquires the status of knowledge. Meanwhile, since it is taught as that which is and should be, it influences the behaviour of individuals. Women are socialized in such a way as to develop certain psychological features and inhibit others, which makes them more suited for carrying out the tasks which are defined as "female"; they aspire to certain careers and not to others; when they look at themselves as women, the principal value is to be a housewife, and this increasingly clashes with what they value if they see themselves in terms of other categories, for example, as students, professionals, and so on. Hence the unwillingness of women to accept changes in the traditional definition of their role, and the contradictions to which they are subject.

(d) The persistence of these conceptions in male and female stereotypes tends to classify individuals in tasks and attitudes which may not be suited to their aptitudes. This causes psychological tensions and social problems because of the poor use made of human resources; limits the woman to the home, with the problems described above, and to certain occupations; and finally, helps to legitimize and perpetuate existing conditions.

There is a second group of problems which relate particularly to women who belong to the labour force. As women, they share many of the problems set out above, plus those indicated below. It should be pointed out that RPA lays down as an objective the incorporation of women in employment. However, this aspiration is problematical in a region where unemployment and underemployment are chronic and very high, unless the style of development is radically changed so that it is capable of generating enough jobs to absorb the natural growth of the labour force, and also the increase

resulting from the entry of new groups of women. 37/ Such a change in the style of development is highly unlikely to occur, according to various prospective studies carried out by CEPAL. Thus serious reflection is necessary on this point: if access to remunerated work is viewed as a means of liberating women from their subordinate position, it should be borne in mind that alternative forms of women's liberation exist, some of which are more feasible; if, on the other hand, it is viewed as an ineluctable requirement of survival, principally for women who are head of household, specific measures become necessary which are indicated under point E.

When the case of women who are already in the labour force is analysed, three problems stand out:

(a) The occupations in which they work correspond to the female stereotype; since these are tasks to which society attaches little value, they are poorly paid posts which carry little prestige.

(b) The situation of the married woman with a job means that she has a double working day, unless she can afford to engage a domestic servant to replace her in household tasks, or has the help of a member of the family. The situation is worse still in the case of a woman who is the head of a household, who is obliged to work to earn an income.

(c) Women who are employed in the tertiary sector work in most cases as itinerant vendors and domestic servants. However, bearing in mind the rise in educational levels, one may suppose that these would not be acceptable jobs for new entrants into the labour force, who would have higher aspirations. 38/ This makes it likely that in the near future there will be social pressure on employment, which might lead to considerable social conflict if appropriate solutions are not reached promptly, in other words, solutions which make it possible to create sufficient jobs to employ the growing flow of women from the educational system.

37/ The most recent projections by ILO reveal substantial increases in female participation rates between the next decade and the year 2000, especially in the 20-24 and 25-44 age groups. In the first group, the increase in participation rates for Latin America between 1975 and 2000 would be 42,5%; in the second, 30,2%. Quoted by Henry Kirsch, "El empleo en América Latina: mirada retrospectiva y perspectivas para el futuro", E/CEPAL/DS/183 (Santiago, 1978), p.43.

38/ Henry Kirsch, op.cit., p.42.

25
28
22
32
20
36
100 mm
1.0
1.1
1.25
1.4
1.6
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz1234567890
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
1234567890
1.0 mm
1.5 mm
2.0 mm
A5

PG

E. RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION.

This section takes up again what has been said above in order to suggest a set of actions related to concrete programmes for action and research. It is designed to improve later evaluations and the sources of information available.

The root of the differences in the development of women's activities lies, as has already been said, in the social division of labour, with its specific allocation of tasks by sex and the different value attached to such tasks. For this reason, it is logical that any change in the working status of women should aim at transforming the social division of labour by sex. It has already been said that making this change means altering one of the structural foundations of the economic organization of society, as well as the cultural foundations of domination by sex. Hence the futility of dealing with the problems separately, the difficulty of dealing with them comprehensively and the unwillingness to carry out transformations which would perhaps involve one of the most radical peaceful revolutions in the history of mankind.

To this must be added that, in the case of the countries of the region, and because of the prevailing styles of development, it may be observed that the present systems of production are incapable of absorbing the existing economically active population, so that it is unrealistic to emphasize the growing integration of women in employment when one knows that it will run up against structural limitations which have not yet been overcome. Hence, at least for the next decade, it is considered better to tackle the problems by seeking to change the value society attaches to given tasks, rather than planning a radical change in the allocation of the tasks.

With this proviso, which identifies the real magnitude of the problems of women, it is recommended that measures should be taken on two fronts: housework by women in the home and their work in the labour market.

As far as housework is concerned, the following measures are proposed:

(a) To revalue the function of reproducing social agents compared with the function of producing goods. This would ensure greater social recognition (prestige) for activities carried out by women and, later, a readjustment in criteria for fixing remuneration.

(b) To publicize the value of the work of the housewife, emphasizing that this is an economic activity as essential for the functioning of society as is productive activity. It may be argued that, by giving greater prestige to the activities carried out by women, one would attach

greater value to her, and to the extent that her value was increased she would be viewed as an equal, so that the path would be opened towards a reduction in her present exclusion from decision-making areas.

(c) To guarantee social recognition of the contribution of women to the welfare of the family group and appropriate compensation, either in cash or in services.

(d) To overcome, at the cultural level, the rigid division man/productive work, woman/reproduction and maintenance of the social agents, both in the family (allocating responsibilities and domestic tasks typical of both sexes to all the children) and in society, thus challenging the sexual stereotypes which discriminate against women.

(e) to endeavour to free women from the heaviest domestic work by: (i) organizing the community so as to provide some services in a socialized form for example, nurseries; (ii) extending infrastructure services such as drinking water and so on with the aim of ensuring that women have free time to relate to others, and to carry out activities which are meaningful and psychologically enriching, thus remedying the negative effects of the environment in which they work as housewives. 39/

(f) To train housewives in simple technologies which would enable them to perform housework more efficiently, and to train their families to co-operate with them in performing it.

As regards the work of women in the labour force, the following measures are recommended:

(a) To combat the sexual stereotypes which are an influence in women's being directed first and foremost to "female" occupations, which, because they are given less value by society, are worse-paid.

(b) To promote and increase attendance by women in training courses. It should be remembered that, in contrast to common belief, women have less education than men in the same occupation and almost no training. Care should be taken not to offer only the conventional specialities, such as fashion, hairdressing, and so on.

(c) To train women who are already employed so as to encourage their promotion to management posts, such as for example, from secretary to head of public relations, from cutter to workshop head, and so on.

(d) To revise protective legislation in the light of new knowledge and technologies, so as to discard that which discriminates between the sexes. Perhaps protection might be limited only to matters related to maternity (leave, retention of jobs, and so on).

39/ Marshall Wolfe defines meaningful activity as that which individuals wish to do to fulfil themselves and that which is regarded as sociably desirable. In the case of this paper, the term would be defined by the objectives of RPA.

كيفية الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة

يمكن الحصول على منشورات الامم المتحدة من المكتبات ودور التوزيع في جميع انحاء العالم . استعلم عنها من المكتبة التي تتعامل معها أو اكتب الى : الامم المتحدة ،قسم البيع في نيويورك او في جنيف .

如何购取联合国出版物

联合国出版物在全世界各地的书店和经售处均有发售。请向书店询问或写信到纽约或日内瓦联合国销售组。

HOW TO OBTAIN UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS

United Nations publications may be obtained from bookstores and distributors throughout the world. Consult your bookstore or write to: United Nations, Sales Section, New York or Geneva.

COMMENT SE PROCURER LES PUBLICATIONS DES NATIONS UNIES

Les publications des Nations Unies sont en vente dans les librairies et les agences dépositaires du monde entier. Informez-vous auprès de votre libraire ou adressez-vous à : Nations Unies, Section des ventes, New York ou Genève.

КАК ПОЛУЧИТЬ ИЗДАНИЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИИ ОБЪЕДИНЕННЫХ НАЦИЙ

Издания Организации Объединенных Наций можно купить в книжных магазинах и агентствах во всех районах мира. Наводите справки об изданиях в вашем книжном магазине или пишите по адресу: Организация Объединенных Наций, Секция по продаже изданий, Нью-Йорк или Женева.

COMO CONSEGUIR PUBLICACIONES DE LAS NACIONES UNIDAS

Las publicaciones de las Naciones Unidas están en venta en librerías y casas distribuidoras en todas partes del mundo. Consulte a su librero o diríjase a: Naciones Unidas, Sección de Ventas, Nueva York o Ginebra.

Publications of the Economic Comission for Latin America and the Caribbean can be ordered from your local distributor or directly through:

United Nations Publications
Sales Section, — DC-2-866
Nueva York, NY, 10017
USA

United Nations Publications
Sales Section
Palais des Nations
1211 Geneve 10, Switzerland

Distribution Unit
CEPAL — Casilla 179-D
Santiago, Chile

Second edition

Reprinted in United Nations — Santiago, Chile — 82-8-1875 — August 1984 — 800

E.82.II.G.10 - 00800 P